

By CARTER WESLEY

"TRUTH ON THE SCAFFOLD"

Not 4-21-54
In not one instance was an attack provoked or returned in the above cases. But again, embracing the poet's philosophy, we believe that "scaffold will sway the future."

NAT (KING) COLE'S EXPLANATION sounds more like an apology from his manager than an upstanding statement of a man who has principle underlying his purpose as a singer. His explanation sums up to the fact that he has people in Alabama who take his records, and who like to hear him sing. The inference left is that he is entitled to hold and to build up listeners, regardless of whether he does it in a pattern that segregates his people or not. While Nat King Cole was flying to one of the Carolinas to continue his segregation support, students in another Carolina were boycotting a school in protest of attacks upon the NAACP.

IF MISCHIEF IS AFOOT only the Citizens Councils and their leaders and supervisors are responsible for it. Citizens Councils,

their leaders and sympathizers since I had gone to sleep when they have been spewing hatred and got back. They had a good catch, shouting defiance of law and or-including a large flounder which der for the last year or so, and the William caught. Katharine caught result is lawlessness and mob three fish. Doris and I crabbed, violence on the part of the mass-starting at a decent hour instead es of hoodlums in the South. The of four o'clock. We caught a waleaders of the states and other ter bucket full of crabs by about key officials, who have been in- 11 o'clock. I ate and went to sleep. spiring the Citizens Councils and When I woke up in the early aft- Leagues, have taught the masses ernoons, the fishermen were in. We how to be lawless and how to dis- were relaxed, talking, reading, and regard law and order. William, Katharine and I went up

"WRONG WAY CORRI-
GAN," that's me! I was sup-
posed to go to Baytown Satur-
day to appear on a panel. I
went to Bay City, which is 100
miles west and south.

AN UNBELIEVABLE WEEK-END is the only way to describe the past week end, which Doris, Katharine and I spent with Anna Bell and William Robinson at their beach home about 12 miles below Corpus Christi. We got there in the afternoon, after brief visits with Dr and Mrs H Boyd Hall, respectively, meaning that Anna Bell and Doris stopped with Mrs Hall, and Katharine and I visited Dr Hall at his office. Everybody hurried out of their city clothing and put on knock-about clothes.

Doris, Katharine and Anna Bell left for Padre Island, because Doris and Katharine wanted to crab and there weren't supposed to be any crabs in the water near the cabin. They caught about a half bucket of crabs in about an hour-and-a-half. So for dinner we had crab gumbo. William had caught fish that morning, so we had salad, gumbo and fried trout. While the ladies cleaned the kitchen, William and I started a checker game. As he put it, we didn't play but three and he didn't win but three games. We went to bed and slept like rocks, until Anna Bell sent William up to wake up "the fishermen!" But she made the mistake of saying it was four o'clock, so I turned over and snuggled up closer in the cover.

Katharine jumped up and said she wanted to go with them fish-

ing, and off she went in the boat. They stayed out until probably 11:00 or better. I wouldn't know

since I had gone to sleep when they got back. They had a good catch, including a large flounder which William caught. Katharine caught three fish. Doris and I crabbed, starting at a decent hour instead of four o'clock. We caught a water bucket full of crabs by about 11 o'clock. I ate and went to sleep. When I woke up in the early afternoon, the fishermen were in. We were relaxed, talking, reading, and William, Katharine and I went up to the trading post that is right up

So far, I imagine you're sking what's so wonderful. Well, the wonderful thing about it is the hospitality, the friendliness that characterizes the house, first of all. The house is owned by three families, the William Robinsons, the Tom Holleys, and the Bookers. They built practically all of the house themselves. It is built for utility and serves their purposes. Therefore, they have three bedrooms in addition to the bathroom and the kitchen, all of it being behind a large, screen-in porch, big enough to put up many cots when they have a lot of guests, as they often do.

100-4-21-56

This week end only Anna Bol

and William were down, and Tom had told them to put us in his room. An indication of how friendly they are is shown by the fact that in the kitchen the food is all put on the shelves together, and nobody worries about anybody's eating it all up when the other one isn't there, or failing to keep the supply full. For the gumbo' we ate a can of Booker's okra. Ann Bell cooks up a lot of food and carries it down there, so that the cooking is a comparatively light chore at the camp. We had salads, barbecued chicken, barbecued ribs, any kind of drink you wanted, from hard to soft, from the Frigidaire in the kitchen or in deep freeze boxes. All of them have their own boats with outboard motors.

Then just across the road is the home of Julius Cameron and three other men. Behind that Anna Bell and William own another house, which they are putting in repair now for guests. Immediately behind the RO-HO-BO house (that's the first two letters in the name) of Robinson, Holley and Booker) there is another house owned by a club of 30 men out of San Antonio

Behind that house, which is only about 60 feet from the water, another club member owns all of the land to the water, and all of the boats that are down there, except those boats owned by individual club members. There is the interesting matter of channel rights, meaning that the government has made channels where the boats can go through without hitting high centers, and to use them one has to own land or pay a price. There is a pier out and Bob, Cameron and that group have channel rights, let's say on the left of the pier going out, whereas the 30 men have channel rights on the right of the pier going out. Anna Bell and Williams take their fishing seriously and really spend hours on the water in their boat. They are not tenderfeet either. Sunday their motor sheared a pin, when their boat got stuck by running on a high spot out of the channel. You know who fixed it, Anna Bell! As a result of that trip and one other that she made with Mr and Mrs Davis, our neighbors, Katharine now is promising to teach me how to cast with a reel and rod.

What constitutes a pleasant or a happy occasion or situation? For me it is appropriate facilities, congenial friends, ample food, and an atmosphere in which one can talk, be silent, eat, sleep, do anything one wants without offending anybody, or without having to apologize.

Current Events

By CARTER WESLEY

GOMEZ OUT?—According to releases from Miami last week, the AME Quadrennial Conference moved all bishops. That would indicate, on the surface at least, that Bishop Gomez will not be coming back to Texas from Miami. Another rumor is that the conference took the control of the budget out of the hands of the Bishops Council.

Don't know, Ted.

SHIVERS STUBBORNLY WRONG.

The Governor stakes his all on interposition, defiance and defeat of the Supreme Court's educational decision, and belief in the power of the pro-segregationists, won't yield even when he bumps his head

into a solid stone wall. After experiencing, behind these queer beliefs, one of the most humiliating and devastating defeats in the history of Texas, he was saying the past week-end that if Adlai Stevenson is nominated, Eisenhower will again carry Texas. One thing that was settled in the precinct elections was that Texas intended to be Democratic and to support the Democratic candidate. Obviously, since the majority vote in Texas is Democratic, if it is going to support the Democratic candidate, there is no way for the Republican candidate to win: Eisenhower cannot carry Texas this year, regardless of who is the Democratic nominee.

THE SCHOOL BOND ELECTION

is not endorsed by this paper. The school board chose to wrap the bond election in a tissue of lies and deception by voting that they could not consider integration until the bonds are voted and the money is spent to build more schools. If that's the way the bonds are to become of importance to the community, then we say let those who feel that way about it vote them, we want integration regardless of bonds or bond elections. We won't commit ourselves to any such stupid proposition as agreeing that we are not entitled to integration unless the bonds are voted and the money is spent to increase the buildings.

THE BRITISH "FROG MAN" incidentally again establishes the fact that our Western Democratic countries are awkward and forever getting their big toes in their mouths when they deal with Russia. Why in heaven's name was a "frog man" or a guy under the water, fooling around the Russian ships, as must have been true by the weasel and guilt-showing manner in which the Britons are trying to deny official responsibility for the frog man's act. Russia claims the frog man (somebody who put on flippers and a mask and goes under water) was nosing around the ships that brought Krushchev and Bulganin over. Now that they are caught, it seems that they were wrong in sending the frog man to snoop that way, and stupid to send him so that he got caught.

TOWARD A NEW WORLD may be the way we have turned through the action in our precinct conventions Saturday, May 5. There has been built up in Texas a situation of fear and hatred, which made me

afraid to speak their minds and al- struck down and discredited again speak their minds, and stop do it alone, but it may well be most afraid to even praise the that he voluntarily withdrew from having to go in a closet to condemn that is was the turning point in the Bible. But through the years the political life. Now Governor Shiv- wrong. It is hoped that those peo- defeat of reactionary forces.

Citizens Councils have been batted down repeatedly by the courts, the integration and of progress, was churches and other places who down repeatedly by the courts, the stripped of his power in Saturday's would have liked long ago to have Minute Women have been exposed precinct election, leaving these started moving toward integration, by a series of articles in one of our agents of hatred and of force ex- may now pick up courage and be- courageous papers, the attorney posed for what they are, nothing gin to discuss the thing and to general, who used his office in but gusts of wind blowing over move toward a reasonable and ways that always happened to be their embers of hatred. It is hoped sensible beginning in integration. helpful to the Citizens Councils, that men and women may now Saturday's precinct elections didn't has been so repeatedly

Wesley Says Supreme Court Wrote End To Bus Segregation

By CARTER WESLEY

The Supreme Court did send the South Carolina bus case back to the lower court for completion of record, but it definitely wrote the end of segregation in bus travel inside and through states.

The second day after the decision, Monday, April 30, one began to hear and read in certain spots that the Supreme Court had not made the final decision outlawing segregation on buses, but had sent the question back to the lower court. These writers and announcers admitted that the action presaged the ultimate end of segregation in buses, but expressed the idea that the end was not yet.

In the meantime, the vast majority of people had accepted the Supreme Court's decision as final in deciding that "separate but equal" did not apply to buses any longer. Many cities over the nation had abandoned segregation on the buses immediately, so it was necessary to reconcile the generally accepted notion of the decision with that of the so-called knowing ones, who were saying that the general run of people had jumped to conclusions too fast.

We sent out to West Publishing Company for a copy of the decision of the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, from which the city of Columbia, South Carolina, had appealed, to get a picture of really what was happening and what the Supreme Court was ruling on. Below we are carrying a quote of the decision of the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals:

Sarah Mae FLEMMING, Appellant,
v.

SOUTH CAROLINA ELECTRIC
AND GAS COMPANY, a corpora-
tion, Appellee, No. 6995.

United States Court of Appeals
Fourth Circuit

Argued June 21, 1955.

Decided July 14, 1955.

PER CURIAM.

This is an action for damages brought by a Negro woman against a bus company because the driver of the bus required her to change her seat in accordance with the segregation law of South Carolina applicable to motor vehicle carriers, South Carolina Code 1952, §§ 58-1491 to 58-1496, which she claimed to be violative of her rights under the 14th Amendment to the Federal Constitution. There was no diversity of citizenship, and

defendant challenged the jurisdiction of the court to entertain the action under the Civil Rights Acts, 42 U.S.C.A. §§ 1981, 1983 and 28 U.S.C. § 1343 (3). The trial judge, without discussing the question of jurisdiction, dismissed the case on the ground that state statutes complained of were valid under the decision of Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537, 16 S.Ct. 1138, 41 L.Ed. 256. See Flemming v. South Carolina Electric & Gas Co., D.C., 128 F. Supp. 469. The correctness of that ruling as well as the question of jurisdiction are presented by the appeal.

(1) We do not think that the separate but equal doctrine of Plessy v. Ferguson, supra, can any longer be regarded as a correct statement of the law. That case recognizes segregation of the races by common carriers as being governed by the same principles as segregation in the public schools; and the recent decisions in Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483, 74 S.Ct. 686, 98 L.Ed. 873 and Bolling v. Sharpe, 347 U.S. 497, 74 S.Ct. 693, 98 L.Ed. 884, which relate to public schools, leave no doubt that the separate but equal doctrine approved in Plessy v. Ferguson has been repudiated. That the principle applied in the school cases should be applied in cases involving transportation, appears quite clearly from the recent case of Henderson v. United States, 339 U.S. 816, 70 S.Ct. 843, 94 L. Ed. 1302, where segregation in dining cars was held violative of a section of the interstate commerce act providing against discrimination. The argument that such segregation can be upheld as a proper exercise of the state police power was answered in the case of Dawson v. Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, City, 4 Cir. 220 F.2d 386, 387, where with respect to segregation in recreational centers we said:

"... it is obvious that racial segregation in recreational activities can no longer be sustained as a proper exercise of the police power of the State; for if that power cannot be invoked to sustain racial segregation in the schools, where attendance is compulsory and racial friction may be apprehended from the enforced commingling of the races, it cannot be sustained with respect to public beach and bath-house facilities, the use of which is entirely optional."

[2,3] We think that there can be

no question as to the jurisdiction of the court. Under 28 U.S.C. § 1343 (3) the District Court are given jurisdiction of actions to redress the deprivation, under color of any state law, of any right, privilege or immunity secured by the Constitution of the United States or by any act of Congress providing for equal rights of citizens. The equal protection of the laws is guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution and by 42 USCA § 1981, and liability for deprivation of such right is provided by 42 USCA § 1983. Plaintiff's contention is that the defendant corporation, acting under color of state law, denied plaintiff her rights as secured by the Constitution and statutes, in that its driver, acting in accordance with state law, enforced the state segregation statute against her and required her to change her seat. It is argued that, since the driver is made a police officer of the state by section 58-1494 of the South Carolina Code, his action is not attributable to the defendant; but we think it clear that he was acting for the defendant in enforcing a statute which defendant itself was required by law to enforce. See Code 58-1491. He was thus not only acting for defendant, but also acting under color of state law.

The decision appealed from will be reversed and the case will be remanded for further proceedings not inconsistent herewith.

Reversed and Remanded.

BASIC FACTS

The reader will save time to fix in his mind the basic facts on what actually happened from the time Mrs Flemmings was accosted by the bus driver until the Supreme Court's decision, Monday, April 30. Mrs Flemming filed suit for damages, alleging that making her move had violated her rights under the 14th Amendment of the Constitution. In brief, she challenged the legality of the South Carolina segregation laws for buses.

Though she had cited the grounds upon which the federal district court had jurisdiction, and although the counsel for the defense had challenged the court's jurisdiction, Judge T B Temmerman, without even noticing the question of jurisdiction, dismissed Mrs. Flemming's case on the simple naked ground that the South Carolina statutes requiring segregation were legal under the Plessy v. Ferguson decision, which set up originally the doctrine of "separate

but equal." (Here the reader must remember that this is the doctrine that the Supreme Court knocked out in its education cases, May 17, 1954.)

Now Mrs. Flemming appealed the decision of Judge Temmerman to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals. That court began its opinion with the terse statement:

"We do not think that separate but equal doctrine of Plessy v. Ferguson, supra, can any longer be regarded as a correct statement of the law." (See opinion quoted above).

On appeal the counsel for the defendant the South Carolina Electric Company, had argued that the state had a right under police power to prescribe segregation. The court said:

"The argument that such segregation can be upheld as a proper exercise of the state police power was answered in the case of Dawson v. Mayor and City Council of Baltimore City, 4 Cir., 220 F.2d 386, 387, where with respect to segregation in recreational centers we said:

"...it is obvious that racial segregation in recreational activities can no longer be sustained as a proper exercise of the police power of the State; for if that power cannot be invoked to sustain racial segregation in the schools, where attendance is compulsory and racial friction may be apprehended from the enforced commingling of the races, it cannot be sustained with respect to public beach and bath-house facilities, the use of which is entirely optional."

Thus the Fourth Circuit disposed clearly of the merits of the question and knocked out the doctrine of "separate but equal" as applied to bus transportation inside the state. Don't forget that Judge Temmerman's order, dismissing Mrs. Flemming's petition for damages was a final order and, therefore, properly appealed to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Obviously, if the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals' decision had been in error, since the appeal from the lower court was properly before it, the Supreme Court would have had to overrule the Fourth Circuit's opinion before it could let the case go back to the district court, so that the district court would have proper instructions.

It is equally clear that the fact that the Supreme Court sent it down on the decision of the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals means that the Supreme Court counted the decision of the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, regarding "separate but equal," as the law. Thus

in dismissing the appeal from the Fourth Circuit Court's opinion, the Supreme Court was actually sending the Fourth Circuit Court's decision down to the lower court with instructions to be governed by it.

By consequence, the brief order of the Supreme Court, denying the appeal from the Fourth Circuit of Appeals court, killed segregation in intrastate bus travel as dead as it had previously been killed in public schools.

What's more, inasmuch as the Fourth Circuit had found jurisdiction in the lower court, the Supreme Court's order, dismissing the appeal from the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, ties Judge Temmerman's hands in the lower court from denying jurisdiction in the case.

Actually, then, the order dismissing the appeal from the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals' decision, means that Judge Temmerman now must hear evidence of the damage and any extenuating circumstances that the defense may have on the damages, and render his opinion and judgment on that ground.

It is doubtful that any lawyer would pretend that Judge Temmerman can now, legally or effectively, issue an order sustaining the segregation laws of South Carolina on bus travel, or deny that he has jurisdiction under the statutes cited and the pleading presented.

On the other hand, with the matter of damages left open, both the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court would have to send the case back to the lower court to complete the hearing on this open phase. But for all intent and purposes the damage question is of small importance.

Current Events

Informers
Houston, Tex.
By CARTER WESLEY

PICKING MY POCKET, not only in broad daylight, but in the church house, was what my wife was doing to me Sunday. I felt her fumbling in my right pocket, and when I looked down she was ready to reach around and try to get into my left coat pocket. We had just come down from the altar, where we had taken sacrament together. When I asked her what she wanted, she replied: "My glasses!" of course, I was wondering how in the dickens I had her glasses, but she was making efforts toward getting to my left coat pocket, so to save her from falling over, I reached in my pocket and, sure enough, there were her glasses. Now she had planted those glasses on me while we were at the altar itself, because it's the only place she could have done it, since that is the only time she was on my left. I'll have to watch out in the future, because I didn't feel anything at all when she planted them on me, and would have sworn I didn't have her glasses. Evidently when she got to the altar she found she had her glasses in her hand, and decided to free her hands by dropping the glasses in my coat pocket. Then when we got back to our seats and she wanted them again for reading, she couldn't find them in the pocket nearest her, because she was on my right side. Katharine and I will have a feast on her about that pickpocketing!

WHY TAKE IT EASY?—Well, when you match harsh words with the Citizens Councils, the Minute Women, the Dixiecrats and the demagogues over whether or not desegregation shall be in the schools, or in any other place, you work your blood pressure up without any need. The South lost the battle for segregation a long time ago. Now, even while they scream and holler about what they aren't going to do and condemn the Supreme Court, people in their own neighborhoods are quietly de-

segregating the churches, the buses, the playgrounds, the parks and other things. Now take the churches, it's surprising how many churches are quietly deciding that it isn't Christian to bar people on account of their color, then their next step is that they go out and invite colored people to come to their church. The statement that Attorney Thad Hutcheson made in The Post not so long ago was significant of the turn many men and women are taking now on this issue of segregation. They aren't noisy, they are quietly purposeful and determined. The Army is definitely working at putting integration into operation. Labor is quietly but ever-increasingly opening jobs and opportunities to Negroes on the bases that they provide for others. So you take it easy because you have won the victory and you will become almost as ridiculous as the Citizens Councils when you begin to rant back at them, just because they are shouting in the streets. When they talk about their "way of life," just smile quietly inside and say nothing. They are walking in their sleep and don't know what is happening. But they'll soon wake up to find that their way of life doesn't exist any more.

POLITICALLY WE ARE IN THE FOREST, we do not yet see our way clear, but we do have our senses and know that we should not trust or follow our enemies who are declaring against us. The important thing is to hold our forces intact while we are checking to decide which way we will go. As the priest said to Evangeline, when he was talking about affection, we can say to ourselves that strong, solid votes are never lost, and there is an effective way to use them, if we can but have patience to think of the best to do. Yarborough is gambling on the possibility that we won't have anybody to give our vote to except him, despite the fact that has come out now for continuation of segregation, although he has tried to say it in a backward way to deceive us. Price Daniel is doing some double talk, too. He helped to draw the South's Manifesto, which included interposition and which was read in Congress. The Manifesto indicated that the South meant to interpose through the Congress to protect the rights

of the states against the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution. In that view Price Daniel has no business leaving the Senate, but should stay there to win his interposition program, unless he is down here to interpose himself between the rebellious whites and the Texas Supreme Court, since the Texas Supreme Court has also said that the Texas laws requiring segregation in education are void. W. Lee O'Daniel has always been against any advancement of the rights of Negroes, and has always been an outstanding opportunist.

"RIGHT TO WORK" LAW will get another test in the Texas Supreme Court in an oral argument on the 27th of this month. Attorney General John Ben Shepperd, also arguing against labor, will be arguing that the United States Supreme Court decision recently in the Nebraska Railroad Union Shop case does not apply, because the railroads are under special law and the Santa Fe, according to Attorney General Shepperd will be under the Railroad act, which is different from the Railroad act, and which gives possible different conclusions. Well, we will know, probably before the year is out, what Texas is going to hold on the matter.

THE SPECIAL REFERENDUM, which the Citizens Councils and the Shivercrats want on the ballot, involving interposition, integration and miscegnation or intermarriage, is almost sure to have been put on the ballot by the time the reader sees this. The Executive Committee is supposed to hear a report from the subcommittee sent out to study the question as to the legality of putting the questions on the ballots, etc., etc., but the majority of the Executive Committee is in favor of it, the committee that went out is in favor of it, and actually it doesn't seem that the legality is going to have much of a sway.

WILL ONLY STIR RACE HATE. Now so far as Texas is concerned, there are laws now on the books against intermarriage between the races, and putting the question on the referendum or the ballot now is merely to inflame people,

period of grace given, and can hardly be heard from now on to claim that it is sincerely studying with a view to ending segregation, in accordance with the direction of the Supreme Court. It also seems that the school board is deliberately defying the Circuit Court of Appeals, which has reversed Judge Atwell's decision, which attempted to strike down application of Negro children for action to desegregate.

Current Events

Informers
Houston, Tex.
By CARTER WESLEY

I DON'T ACCUSE the NAACP locally or in Texas with having been in politics. I merely point out the coincidence that the top officials in the NAACP, presumably in their individual capacity, all acted in support of Yarborough. Granting that they have the constitutional right to support whom they want as individuals, I still find it rather strange that these people who happened to be top officials in the NAACP can have gone all out in support of Yarborough, who said he would use his office, if elected Governor, to continue to segregate their children, which position is absolutely at variance with the position of the NAACP, which they represent and lead, all the year, except when they are supporting Yarborough. The point that I am making is clear, if one calls the names of the leaders who supported Yarborough, without saying that he is listing people who supported Yarborough, everybody who hears those names will immediately think you are calling the roster of the NAACP: W J Durham, Ed Washington, J J Jones, Hobart Taylor, H M Morgan, Boyd H Hall, Geo D Flemming, Mrs Lula White, Mrs Christine Adair, Atty Francis Williams and Rev L H Simpson, plus Sid Hilliard and a host of others.

HE'S A KINDER EXECUTION-

ER" is the reason given for sup-might have been better off in a PRAISE was Adlai E Stevenson by porting Yarborough, who pledges number of ways before we got former President Harry S Truman to continue discrimination against the right to vote, than we are Saturday afternoon. By inference their children in the school, along this particular year. Before we Ex-President Truman said of with the rest of the candidates. I got the right to vote we didn't candidate Stevenson that he is in have never been able to see how vote for any of the candidates in experienced and unsafe for us to one is any less dead when exe-primaries and the world didn't entrust the management of our cuted by a man who smiles and come to an end. But now we are government to in this hectic time. uses soft words, than he is when faced with the sorry spectacle of Mr Truman's statement is calcu- executed by a harsh, rough man, having our leaders tell us that we- lated to hurt Adlai E Stevenson's Yarborough was going to give have just got to vote for one of chances in the convention, but in- our leaders more jobs, in fact they six rotten candidates, all of whom evitably the statement will hurt were practically clamoring for are pledged to continue to fasten him, if he becomes a candidate, jobs, in exchange for supporting segregation upon our children. in the campaign between him and him, despite the fact he was going The argument is that if we hadn't Eisenhower. Mr Stevenson and to execute the rights of our chil- voted for one of the rotten guber- his supporters were reported as dren. Some of our good leaders natorial candidates, we would saying that Truman's statement were bold enough to tell Mr Yar- have disfranchised ourselves. This would not affect their winning the borough in the meeting, which they told us, despite the fact that nomination. Well, Mr Truman was alleged to have been held be- the most effective use of our votes threw a boomerang, so that even tween Mr Yarborough and the in the primary, would have been though the ball might have missed Negro leaders of Houston, that to withhold it entirely from Yar- his head as it passed, nonetheless they didn't care "nothing" about borough, who had double crossed the string will swing around his his pledge to continue segregation us after our supporting him in two neck an choke him to death in the upon Negroes, because they knew successive campaigns. This they campaign against Ike. What bet- that he had made that to get told us in spite of the fact that ter authority will Ike and his sup- votes. These brainless egotists, there was one of the longest bal- porters need than that of an Ex- didn't have sense enough to lots to vote for that we have had Democratic President for them to know that if the East Texas whites in this county, exclusive of the remind the voters in the coming were potent enough to make Yar- gubernatorial race. This they had campaign that Stevenson is borough publicly pledge to con- the timerity to tell us, despite the inexperienced and unfit to be- tinue to segregate our children, the fact that we had readymade trusted with the running of our they would be potent and strong Negro men, who had served our Government? But I am not sure enough to keep him from giving cause and behind whom we could that Stevenson and his followers are right when they say that Tru- Negroes any jobs worthwhile, and have placed our write-in votes, man's announcement won't affect to make him carry out his plan not only to our credit but also to them in the convention. Stevenson to use his office to continue segre- the embarrassment and confusion was fairing rather indifferently in- gation. They couldn't understand of those white liberals who were his fight with Kefauver up through that there is no way that he double crossing us. the Minnesota primaries. Even after that humiliating defeat, the

could give Negroes any worth- **THIRTY PIECES OF SLIME** while jobs and keep it a secret, is what we will have to say our any more than there was any way leadership sold out the Negro chil- that he could have forgotten his dren's rights to Yarborough for. pledge to East Texas and per- The consideration they asked for, mitted the schools to desegregate and were promised by Mr Yar- But they were chumps enough not borough, "was some important only to believe that Yarborough jobs." But Yarborough knew that could do different from what he the same East Texas people, who pledged, but they were also were strong enough to induce him chumps enough to make excuses to promise to use his office to con- for Yarborough in their own meet- tinue segregation, would prevent ing. **Sat. 8-18-52** him from giving any worthwhile

TRUTH IS THE BEST POLI- jobs to Negroes, therefore the **TICS** for the everyday citizen as Negroes never had a chance of get- well as for the everyday Chris- ting the compensation they were tian. There is no more reason why selling our children out for. I the everyday citizen or the every would like to say that they were day Christian should sully them- like the Indians who sold out their selves with the dirty lies that cheap birth rights for beads, only the politicians put out, than there is Indians got the beads, but our that they should sully them- leaders never got, and never could selves with cheap lies in their have gotten, the jobs from Yar- every day Christian living. I am borough. beginning to suspect that we **DAMMED WITH FAINT**

MASONS NEVER FADE AWAY

and you could get some pretty strong testimonies by the ambit- ious members in the ranks of the masonic order, to the effect that they never die either, if you are thinking about the Grand Masters and the Senior Wardens, etc etc etc. Among our people when one gets elected to fraternal office, one expects to die therein. The catch is that the constitution and by-laws place the right to run for certain offices such as Grand Master, Grand Matron, Grand Josuah etc. etc., upon the basis of one having held top offices. Also the right to vote for election to these offices is in many instances tied on to one's having been Senior Warden or Junior Warden or some such elevation as that. It is from that angle that the custom among Negroes of not passing the office around, makes a very tight and limited electorate for key posi- tions as well as a very small area from which to choose top officials. That's the type of thing that the South uses now to keep the masses of people from having effective votes. Why don't the fraternal benefit societies give some thought to adopting new by- laws, limiting the time one can stay in office. Even the Churches with the exception of probably the Baptist, have come around to this limitation of the time the Preac- bers can stay on one job.

Current Events

THE GREATER PURPOSES

is the subject of the best speech President Eisenhower has made since he became a candidate for the 1952 election. In it he is stating his independence of Britain and France in the Suez debacle, but they are lessons that can be applied locally here to all of the people of good will who face the rebellious Conservatives. Excerpts are as follows:

There are some firm principles that cannot bend -- they can only break . . . "We believe that integrity of purpose and act is the fact that must most surely identify and fortify the free world in its struggle against Communism . . . To do this would be to do something much worse than merely making our great struggle in the world more difficult. For if we ever were to lose that integrity, there would be no way to win a true victory in that struggle."

"This would be a surrender that we shall not make."

We submit that in the primary races and in the school board election our Liberal friends and many of our Negro leaders have attempted to surrender principle to expediency of politics. We suggest that neither the Liberals nor the Negro leaders, being politicians by training or inclination, they can only fight for our rights in politics by following principle and sticking to integrity. We believe the principle involved in the primaries and in the school board elections was: The law of today ends segregation, and all men and women of good will must support that law completely and openly.

AGAIN, PERFIDIOUS ALBION shows the brazen trickery which over the ages has won England the name of Perfidious Albion. Contrary to right, contrary to the UN principles, which England has pledged to uphold, England conspired with France and Israel to make a concerted attack upon

Egypt, murdering many innocent people through their bombing and then said no.

war. While making arrangements for this violation of international principle, England kept her chief ally, America, absolutely in the dark. England compounded this outrage by being the first of the Western allies to cast a veto in the UN. Through this rash, treacherous act, England faced the West with the great hazard that Russian forces might be introduced into the Middle East, on the excuse of helping Nasser to protect Egypt from unwarranted assault.

THE SUBSTANCE OF RUMORS

was demonstrated clearly Friday night, when I stopped in a class at the Erma Hughes Business College, and somebody started by asking me questions concerning the Baird's Bread rumors. One fellow, that seemed to have been one of the two or three wise men on the Baird Baking Company situation, said the foreman had told the Negroes over and over that they would never have any jobs higher than the menial jobs they then had. I pointed out that the foreman did not set the policy for Mrs Baird's Baking Company, and that that was set at the top level by the owners.

After wrangling over that, and finding that he was lost, he said that the company had offered \$100 for information on the rumors. He said a man had brought in a sheaf of papers and turned them over to the foreman, showing the authenticity of the rumors. He said the foreman only gave the man \$10 and took the papers, and that he, the narrator, knows that was true. I asked him who was this foreman and what was his name. He did not know, although he worked under him and worked with him every day.

Then I pointed out that the foreman had not made the offer, the company had made it, and that giving the papers to the foreman still did not get them to the company. Then he shifted ground and said they had been given to one of the high officials. I asked him which of the high officials had received the papers. He didn't know, but he knew they had been given to one of them. I asked him if he saw them given

to the high official, he hesitated and then said no. Another very stubborn, inquisitor made the statement that C A Dupree had sold the race out by signing an endorsement for Falstaff. I asked him to explain, and he said he just knew Dupree had been paid to put the testimonial in the paper in favor of Falstaff. I told him (1) there was no pay given to The Informer for carrying it, and (2) that Mr Dupree had told me that a friend at Falstaff's had asked him for the recommendation, and he had

given it in response to the request from a friend. This stubborn gentleman insisted that he wouldn't have done it unless he got money. I pointed out to him that Dupree's living was made and had been made, and he didn't need any money and wouldn't take any money for such a thing. But he insisted, and I told him that for me the answer was that Dupree was not the type of man who would take money for a thing like that. Most of the class left him, but he still stuck to his idea.

Then there was a brother, the last, who said he had seen a sign on Jensen Drive on a big signboard, saying that the Baird Bread Company had made the contribution to the Citizens Council, and signed by Baird authoritatively. I asked him where was the sign exactly, so I could find it. He couldn't tell me. I asked him how far out it was, he was vague and couldn't tell me that. I asked him on what side of the road he would I look for it if I drove outright to have been elected, but it that way. He couldn't remember, was not wise nor right to offer

Then I asked him if he would go with me, if I'd pick him up and take him out there. He reluctantly said yes, but he couldn't go until 1:30 Saturday. I asked him if I could come and pick him up in my car and go out there. He promised that he would. He has not called until yet and it is now 12:30 Sunday.

Now just imagine that guy who was supposed to know about the papers which would give evidence of the contribution from Mrs Baird's Baking Company to the Citizens Councils, telling that in a bar somewhere. Nobody would ever think of asking him any questions, and everybody would

accept him as an authority and thus the rumor would spread. Take that guy who said he had seen this signboard, if he'd tell that in a mass of Negroes, they'd just accept it, multiply it and embroider it in the carrying. Yet they were both lying out of whole cloth, as was shown by the least cross-examination. Fortunately, the leadership of our community knows that it is just as important to expose lying rumors and put them down, as it is for the community to unite when there is a valid boycott for cause.

"THE TIME IS NOT RIPE"

is an expression that the weak-minded and weak-kneed Negroes have been putting up whenever Negroes were resolved to take action to end an injustice to the race. When Negroes wanted to make a fight to equalize teachers' pay, the old leaders, who had been given too long conditioned to the Negro's "keeping his place," argued that the time was not ripe. Under the law segregation could not be maintained unless it was equal, and the Negro teachers weren't getting half as much as whites and had not been for 80 years, and still the time was not ripe in their view.

Friday night, after my exhilarating experience with the class at Hughes Business College, I went to another gathering. Usually the school board issue came up. The people at my table were saying that Negroes should have been elected to the school board long ago, and they had a long time to have been elected, but it was not wise nor right to offer

a Negro in 1956. Now just how stupid can an adult get? All right, suppose we had elected a Negro previously, would we now defeat him in 1956? Surely the logic of their position would require that we should defeat the Negro in 1956, although he might have been serving for three terms on the board. From this they shrink, but they can find no way out of this logic.

Another gentleman at the table attempted to adopt my logic, and at the same time find a way to justify his belief that we should not have put a Negro up in this particular board election. My logic as stated was that even in

a segregated pattern, we are entitled equally to a Negro on the board to represent the large Negro population, as a matter of equality. Negroes have a right to run now, and to be supported by all honest men of good will. I further raised the question as to how they could believe that Negro children should be integrated, and that Negro citizens should not be integrated on the board to represent the large Negro pupil population. The gentleman then changed the subject by saying, "There is another matter I want to talk about." Thus, as always, when they meet the unanswerable argument of the situation, they sheer away and never admit that they are caught. For them the "time is just not ripe."

"WHICH WAY NOW?" is being asked by Negroes all over the state. There is little sentiment for doing nothing, most of the people want to know what we are to do since the NAACP has been stopped by Ben Shepperd temporarily. I have reason to believe that the leadership is being formed at the top on a statewide level. I suspect that the time taken is due to the fact that it is necessary to avoid using leaders who have been formerly in the NAACP, because of the injunction against such leadership. I suggest to the masses that we be patient a little longer. To organize indiscriminately in our various communities separate units before we are united on the way we will go, and how we will go, will make for chaos. I believe the call for the statewide meeting will come reasonably soon, and we'll be on our way.

THE MYSTERIOUS CALM, which obtains now among Negroes over carrying on the fights in Texas in the absence of the activity of the NAACP, is probably causing John Ben Shepperd and his friends to believe they have succeeded in cowing the spirit of Texas Negroes by temporarily halting the NAACP. But I think they are due for a surprise.

AROUND ELECTION POLLS one sees and experiences some odd things. In the first place, few

people who electioneer near the away from them, by passing de-
polls stay the 100 feet. It was re- cent civil rights laws in the com-
ported that at least one box, No ing Congress.

138, the lever oposite Rev Hayes' name was not working, although the levers opposite all o t h e r names and issues were working. Some election judges were ob- served to be coaching the voter, under the guise of helping him to operate the machine. On the issue of the election judge's cam- paigning before voting day, I am inclined to support the right of such election judge to so cam- paign, so long as such election judge can maintain an attitude of impartiality on election day.

There are still too many citi- zens who do not know how to operate the voting machines, I think sample machines should be borrowed by various large orga- nizations and churches and demon- strated now, when they are not in great demand. It is actually true that many people refuse to go to the polls, because t h e y don't want to show their ignor- ance of the machines, and we thereby lose voters. Show t h e people how to use the machines and many will go just to exercise the skill that they think they have learned in these lessons.

TEXAS REPUBLICANS were only interested in electing Presi- dent Eisenhower, and most of them are elated with themselves. Truth is, they didn't elect him, he was elected by the vote of non- Republicans, who were either Democrats for Eisenhower or Ne- groes who are not in the Repub- lican party, but were voting for Eisenhower in the hope of sweep- ing in a Republican Senate ma- jority. Also, many Independents voted for President Eisenhower because they thought t h a t he would be the best in this crisis brewing over the Suez Canal.

If t h e Republicans in Texas were smart, they would set their sights on winning the support of the large segments and groups in this state, by the simple process of taking enlightened stands and views on issues. T h e National Republicans could insure and in- crease the number of Republicans by the next election, by the sim- ple process of making a real fight for civil rights in the Congress, and thereby forcing the Demo- crats to openly filibuster against and defeat them. For that matter, the Democrats could win back Negro votes and stop the trend

Current Events

By CARTER WESLEY

TEXAS GETS CIVIL RIGHTS

DECISION Buried under the public's eye in the Suez Canal, the Hungarian issue, and the Supreme Court's decision in the Montgomery Bus case, was another signal victory won in Texas by Dr. A. E. Roark in intrastate travel. Dr. Roark came to Houston on a round-trip ticket from w i c h i t a s and waiting in t h e Houston Belt & Terminal Railroad Company sta- tion in Houston in what was then known as "the white waiting room," when a policeman in an effort to eject her is alleged to have assaulted her. She filed suit for damages against the Houston Belt & Terminal Company. They pleaded t h e Texas segregation laws to show that he was violat- ing a law, and that he policeman was enforcing the law in trying to put her out. Federal Judge Dooley rejected the plea, thus holding that the Texas seg-regation laws in intrastate travel were dead and void, and award- ed Dr. Roark \$500 damages. So with the bus decision in Alabama and the railroad decision in Tex- as, intrastate transportation seems to be free of segregation

GEORGIA LOSES ROUND.

The state of Georgia lost an at- tempt in the federal court Tues- day to bar the suit of Horace Ward to enter the University of Georgia Law School. Mr Ward, the first Negro to apply for en- trance in a Georgia white state college in 1950, filed suit in 1952 in the federal court for admission. Before the case came to trial he was drafted in 1953 in the Army. When he got out of the Army last year, he renewed his effort and Georgia attempted to have the case thrown out on the ground that some of the trustees were not on the ground now, but the judge found t h a t the majority were still on the board. In the light of the cases that have been decided already in the field, if Mr Ward's case is tried, Georgia is almost certain to face the prob-

lem of having a Negro ordered into their state law school.

"EVERYBODY OUT OF STEP

except John" applies again to the attorney general of Georgia, the governor-elect of Florida, and the governor of Mississippi regarding the Supreme Court's bus decision. These people, and others like them, were hollering that the Su- preme Court, the Constitution, and the majority of the nation were out of step in holding that the Constitution doesn't permit of seg-regation in schools. Now that the Supreme Court has held that the Constitution doesn't permit of segregation on local buses, they are hollering that the Court and Constitution are wrong and out of step with their "traditions." Log- ically, they will have to be saying also that the Interstate Commerce Commission is out of step when it orders the end of segregation in intrastate travel and that pas- sengers will use t h e depots in such travel. In other words, log- ically the nation, the Constitution and the Court are out of step, re- garding p a r k s , playgrounds, swimming pools, buses, schools, voting and all of the activities that have been segregated before by state authority. In logic these people have to hold that the 40- odd denominations of America that have endorsed the Supreme Courts decision are also out of line. One begins to wonder just w h a t these pro-segregationists are hanging their fight for the continuance of the tradition of segregation upon. The c o u r t stands between them and any at- tempt to place their fight for continued segregation upon t h e law. The church stands between them and any to hang their fight for continued segregation upon the Bible. Scientists stand be- tween them and any attempt to hang their fight f o r continued segregation upon science, and it begins to look as though these pro-segregationists are cut adrift from all of the things that we believe in, and from all the prin- ciples by which the nation lives. Truly, everybody is out of step but them.

ENGLAND CAUGHT RED-

HANDED, trying to steal the Suez Canal, has lost face at home, in the U. S., in the Middle East, and among nations generally. Anthony Eden, the premier, is doubly em- barrased because he is in the

position of the thief who tried to steal and failed wretchedly and publicly. Poor France has shrunk and fallen so low that one can do nothing but pity it. In order to save the faces of England and of France, the French tried to set up a three-power conference of America, France and Britain to make the world believe that they w e r e united in the attack on Egypt, or at least that America was still backing them 100 per- cent. President Eisenhower turn- ed that down, so that they got another affront or embarrass- ment. The worst is yet to come for them. With the Suez Canal out of operation, because of their rash act, Western Europe is go- ing to get far less oil than they need for t h e i r operation and their comfort this winter. Chances are possible that this affront may so rile the Arabic countries that England will never reestablish her position in the oil world in the Near East. Neither England nor France has large tankers to sail around the Cape and bring in their oil, even with a couple of months delay. Neither do they have the money to afford to build and for the real as- such tankers. So they are going to have to appeal abjectly to heard what Russia w a s saying. America f o r aid, after having But the weight and the veil were openly defied America in making pulled off by the action of Po- this sneak attack on Egypt. Final- land and Hungary. Truth stood ly, to run their cup over, Nasser erect again, even if only tempo- will be stronger now than before. and the Arabic countries will be see and to know that Truth is more defiant of England a n d alive and capable of rising. France than before. People of the darker worlds will believe this was an attack on Nasser because of race or color, and it isn't go- ing to help England in her other dealings with the people in the Near East or the Far East.

RUSSIAN COLONIALISM EX-POSED

forces Nehru and other countries of the Far East, who have been talking about Western colonialism, to rethink their whole attitude. The brutal crushing of for the patronage that the Dem- the clear aspirations of the peo- ocratic party has taken a w a y ple who hunger f o r freedom from him, as a disciplinary mat- shows that the Russians are hold- ter because he bolted and sup- pressing the satellite nations in sub- ported President Eisenhower? I jection, and as less, even, than think the Democrats may have colonies in the truest sense. The the right to discipline him for his Russians are frantically trying to bolt. But if they do, by the same counteract the adverse opinion force that gives them the right to that their action in Hungary has do it, it seems to me, the Repub- set up by suggesting: (1) That licans are obligated to compen- they are now willing to agree to sate him with equal patronage on a proper inspection in connection their side. with reducing armies and cutting out atomic and hydrogen bomb

production in the West and in Russia. (2) They are saying that they will move their troops out of Hungary, if and when, which the Hungarians don't believe and hardly anybody in the world be- lieves.

TRUTH RISES AGAIN in the incidents that have been cited above, as the poet has said:

"Truth crushed to earth will rise again."

For generations the only truth that the world has known or act- ed upon has been that that ex- ploiting nations have issued re- garding their relations to colon- ial countries. Real truth and the aspirations of exploited people were crushed, seemingly hopelessly. But today Truth has shaken itself awake and has risen to its feet, so that the lowliest now can see truth again in the relation- ship of man to man. Most of the us in the West knew that Russia was lying when she said that she was not subjugating and exploiting the satellite counties. None from the satellite countries were per- mitted to speak for the nation and for the real as- such tankers. So they are going to have to appeal abjectly to heard what Russia w a s saying. America f o r aid, after having But the weight and the veil were openly defied America in making pulled off by the action of Po- this sneak attack on Egypt. Final- land and Hungary. Truth stood ly, to run their cup over, Nasser erect again, even if only tempo- will be stronger now than before. and the Arabic countries will be see and to know that Truth is more defiant of England a n d alive and capable of rising. France than before. People of the darker worlds will believe this was an attack on Nasser because of race or color, and it isn't go- ing to help England in her other dealings with the people in the Near East or the Far East.

Here in the Southland Negroes see Truth securely on her feet, paying little attention to dissident segregationists, as she marches on toward the eternal standard of justice. Surely we can have faith that God, who has brought us thus far on our way, will lead us into the full daylight.

WILL POWELL BE COMPEN-

SATED by the Republican party, attitude. The brutal crushing of for the patronage that the Dem- the clear aspirations of the peo- ocratic party has taken a w a y ple who hunger f o r freedom from him, as a disciplinary mat- shows that the Russians are hold- ter because he bolted and sup- pressing the satellite nations in sub- ported President Eisenhower? I jection, and as less, even, than think the Democrats may have colonies in the truest sense. The the right to discipline him for his Russians are frantically trying to bolt. But if they do, by the same counteract the adverse opinion force that gives them the right to that their action in Hungary has do it, it seems to me, the Repub- set up by suggesting: (1) That licans are obligated to compen- they are now willing to agree to sate him with equal patronage on a proper inspection in connection their side. with reducing armies and cutting out atomic and hydrogen bomb

THE NEGRO AND PARTIES

have been pushed to the fore Negroes who were fighting to get compared to the Republic party, the Democratic party is espousing again by the trend of the Negro in the Democratic party. T h e I have always known that if and continued segregation, and since vote toward Republicans as shown logic of that position compelled when segregation became an is- the Republican party is stubborn in the 1956 election. I feel that I should vote Democratic, sue, I'd line up for desegregation the rank and file of Negroes in whenever and however I could against any party or any other ic party in lily-whiteness. I am the South got into the Democratic get a chance to do so. The first obstacle. Today if the Republican left to be what is called and inde- party by about the same process stirring of real enthusiasm for the party in Texas were sensible and I did. When I finished law school Democratic party c a m e to me courageous enough to embrace the South to be the Democratic to do with the question of ide- at- titude, I'd leap into the Repub- I allied myself with those of the Democratic party who were sensible and embrace the principles of equality and Fair the principles of equality and little justice as exemplified in our Con- the South to be the Democratic to do with the question of ide- at- titude, I'd leap into the Repub- I allied myself with those of the Democratic party who were sensible and embrace the principles of equality and Fair the principles of equality and little justice as exemplified in our Con-

Negroes Fought For Civil Rights Alone

Set. 12-1-56
BY CARTER WESLEY

It should be a matter of everlasting pride to Negroes and their posterity that practically every one of the numerous fights for civil rights was conceived and carried out by Negroes. Not only were the best lawyers and the best brains of the South arrayed against them, but the courts themselves stubbornly followed the Plessy decision, despite the evident fact that there was no equality in the separations carried before the courts.

With the South united solidly behind the tradition of segregation, with the statutes and ordinances placing the law against us; and with the courts in league with the South on segregation, it was enough to break the spirit and the heart of a strong people, let alone a weak race.

It was in such an atmosphere that C N Love, with his Negro attorney Richard Evans of Waco, fought through all the courts to the Supreme Court. Mr Love's case was against the statute barring Negroes from participation in the Democratic primary.

Even during the early part of the year, 1921, C N Love, W L Davis, J B Grigsby, William Nixon, Jr., Newnan Dudley, Jr., and Perry Mack of Houston applied to the District Court for an injunction to restrain the city Democratic Executive committee, and judges from holding same token once the event in the election strictly white voters primary.

C N Love, a native of Houston, went to school with my mother under old man Hardy. He was always in the middle of fights in the early days when Wright, "Booseneck" Bill, and Ferguson were making themselves felt politically. Emmett J Scott and Jack combined to publish the

Texas Freeman in November 1893.

By the year 1923, when the Terrell Election law was passed, Mr Love was the sole owner and publisher of the Texas Freeman. He was a courageous man and a stubborn man. It seems natural that he would be the first man to take a case up on the primary laws to the Supreme Court.

But a word should be said to the credit of Attorney Richard Evans. He pioneered his way in this case, there were no precedents, and there were no past experiences throwing light upon the road. As we said last week by the time the case got to the Supreme Court, it was a moot question as much as the election that was sought to be enjoined or mandamus was over.

MANY OTHER SUITS
When we talk of the six suits that were carried to the Supreme Court on the primary law by Texas Negroes, people of today often assume that they were the only cases that were filed against the primary bar. But for every one case that went to the Supreme Court, there were at least five to six cases filed in the lower courts that never went up that high.

They were all filed against the primary bar, and many of these cases that did not go up were also applying the extraordinary remedy of either injunction or mandamus. Cases filed in either one take precedence of all other cases on the docket, but by the time the case is over, the case is dead because it is too late to grant relief.

It is certainly true that the bulk of the cases filed in the lower courts were filed out of Houston, but cases were filed in Texarkana, East Texas, Dallas, He, San Antonio, and in Beaumont, Tib to mention some towns involved.

SOME PLAINTIFFS

NEGRO (CARTER WESLEY)

Since this is being written from interest and the doubts of their two white lawyers in El Paso, memory and without research, I own race, and the strong opinion I think was named Knollen can only give you the plaintiffs position from the other race. berg-I have forgotten the other that I remember personally.

THAT DAY'S COURTS who took up both of the cases Among those who were plaintiffs It was a foregone conclusion for Dr Nixon and won both of in suits against the primary bar that the state courts would follow them in the Supreme Court. were Julius White, Dr W M the state laws on segregation and, Also, J Edwin Smith, another Drake, J B Grigsby, O P DeWalt, therefore, few cases were filed in white lawyer in Houston, who C F Richardson, Sr, R R Grovey, state courts, seeking to break the took up the Jay Bird Primary Dr L A Nixon, and Dr L E Smith, primary bar. But with the ex-case and won that in the Supreme I know that when this hits the ception of a few teasing dicta, Court. I do not cite them as streete somebody is going to call the federal district courts, to significant because they won, indignantly and name me out four which the Negroes went with but because they are, with the or five more that I've forgotten. their cases, counted themselves possible addition of Herman

Several such suits were filed in as firmly bound by the Supreme Wright, the only whites that I Dallas, and I remember one def-Court's decision in Plessy vs. recall who lent their training and initely that was filed in San An-Ferguson, as the state judges talents to the fight against the tonio, although I have forgotten found themselves bound by the primary bar.

the plaintiff's name; also some statutes and constitution. Finally, after numerous as- were filed in Tyler, and I am Now take Judge Joseph Osaults in the lower courts, and pretty certain some were filed in Hutcheson. He was an able law-with five in the upper courts, Texarkana and Marshall. yer and a brilliant one, and it we broke the back of the pri-

Associated with these suits, in was frustrating to present a mary in 1944 in the case of Smith the way of holding mass meet- case, which one knew that he vs. Allwright. This was one of ings, and raising money to help would follow, only to find him the significant battles in the finance them, were men like O twisting himself in a lot of ration-fight against segregation. P DeWalt, C F Richardson, Sr., alized, legal phrases and running **ON OTHER FRONTS** John Adkins, Julius White, and to cover. Congressman Arthur Mitchell

One can get an idea of Judge fought alone against the segre- there were Rev A A Lucas, Lulu Hutcheson's able and incisive gating of Negroes in interstate White, J H Jemison, Moses Le- mind by reading the opinions travel, by barring them from roy, Hermon Wright, C W R. ce, that he writes now on the seg-Pullman berths in the middle of Mrs Ora Lee Terry, Rev L H regation cases that go up to him. the car. He won this case in the Simpson, Mrs C V Adair, Francis He cuts through the same legal 30's. I don't remember whether tommyrot, that the lawyers for it was 1936 or 1938 but I think it segregation used to present to was 1936. him, with the sharpness of a sur- In 1950 Mr Henderson (I think geon's knife. it was Elmer) was plaintiff in a

Then there was Judge T M suit to break the segregation Kennerly, a Sunday School teach- pattern in diners, where Negroes er and a pious man, who also were either restricted to one sat on the federal bench here. seat, curtained off in a corner, He was by no means a dumb or eating after the regular judge, but was a man with a guests. first-rate mind. Also one knew Then I believe the next thing that he knew what was right and was a bus suit, where a lady what was Christian. But his law from the North was down South and his Christianity were saved and was taken off the bus be- for the white race, when it cause she refused to give up her came to passing on the question seat, even though she was in a of the segregation bar in the segregation state, because she Democratic primary. was an interstate passenger.

SOME LAWYERS

This won another step in the breakdown of interstate segrega- I won't attempt to guarantee to tions in travel. remember all the lawyers who

participated in these primary Finally, in November 1955, the suits. But Attorneys A S Wells, interstate Commerce Commission W J Durham, Oliver Johnson, J gave up the fight that it had Alston Atkiss, Jim Nabrit, F S made over the years in favor of K Whittaker, Harry Bellinger, segregation and ruled that segre- Kenneth Lamkin, Thomas Dent, gation in interstate travel and in George White, and last, but of buses and station, servicing pas- marked significance, were the

sengers in interstate travel would end as of January -0. 1956. This followed the 1954 and 1955 decisions of the Supreme Court ending segregation in education.

INTRASTATE TRAVEL

Remaining then was the segregation inside of states. The case that went up from Columbia, South Carolina, and received decision in the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, holding that Court of Appeals, holding that segregation on buses in cities was illegal, only to be sent back made a proper record, nonetheless laid the foundation for the end of local segregation on buses.

But it was poetic justice that the case to actually get the decision went up from Montgomery, the city famous for the boycott on the local buses. That decision was handed down Tuesday, November 3, 1956.

It is a fitting footnote to add that on October 31, 1956, Dr A E Roark had won in the federal district court a judgment against the Houston Belt & Terminal Railroad for assault by a policeman in its interest in a Houston railway station upon Dr Roark, because she was in the white waiting room. Her ticket was from Houston in Texas to Wichita and, therefore, it was intrastate. Railroad lawyers pleaded the segregation bar of Texas, but Judge Dooley followed the logic of the Supreme Court's educational decision on segregation generally.

Next week we will start in, on housing, jury service, municipal parks and playgrounds.

Current Events

By CARTER WESLEY

THE NABRIT FAMILY — The current issue of the Negro History Bulletin (October issue) carries a full-spread story of the family of James N. Nabrit, Sr., including eight children. The interesting thing about this family is that every one of the children come out of school as salutatorian or magna cum laude or summa, and most of them at the head of their classes, all eight children, with brilliant minds. Of interest to Texans is the fact that they can get a full history of Dr Samuel M. Nabrit, as well as highlights on Mrs S. M. Nabrit, and find out what makes them click and also why they are where they are. The story of the Nabrit family is the feature article in the October issue of the Negro History Bulletin. It sells for 25 cents. The address is 1838 Ninth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. A few of the impatient ones might be able to borrow Dr J. Reuben Wheeler's edition at TSU (he is the author of the story). Yes, I got a ride off one of his copies to see the story.

AT SIXES AND SEVENS are both our race relations and our political situation today. In an atmosphere of charges and counter-charges it is difficult for the average person to remember that the people around them are the same basically as they were before this hubbub arose. Like it or not, Negroes and whites have got to live together, and they are going to live together, and they are going to live together as neighbors. It is well to remember that people that we know as good will are the same, despite the hubbub. As to politics, we must recognize that it causes people to do strange things, and we find many honest

people bedfellows with crooks, because they move on their emotion, rather than their common sense and faith in humanity. But of a certainty we can say of the racial mixup and the political hubbub, "This too, will pass."

Sat. 11-3-56
THEY SHALL LEAD THEM

can be said as truly about children today as was said of children of yore: Every day we are astounded by the sensible, quiet way in which children behave under the strain of integration in schools. Negri children show an unusual amount of courage in facing hostile crowds and intimidation to go to school. White children show remarkable generosity and sympathy in accepting the Negroes into the schools without hubbub or attack. This tells more of what we may expect from the future, these children who will be the men and women of tomorrow.

HOW WE'LL VOTE must be told sooner or later, so why not now?

For Governor — Price Daniel. Remember, in this vote you are not voting whether you like him or whether you don't you are voting to accumulate delegate votes to your convention in the future. Every vote for Daniel in this election means more representation in your area and your party in the next convention election.

For Attorney General — Will Wilson.

This candidate is unopposed, but we think that knowing his qualifications and ability, he is entitled to a positive vote.

For the Court of Criminal Appeals — Judge W. A. Morrison for reelection. He, too, will be elected anyway, but he merits a positive vote from us.

For Congressman in our district, the choice is not so easy. Here there is a Republican in the race as well as a Democrat. Two of our distinguished leaders have reported that Congressman Thomas was rude to them on a visit to his office during an NAACP conference in Washington. The Republican candidate publicly announces himself as in favor of con-

tinuing segregation in schools, despite the Supreme Court's decision. Against Albert Thomas' faux pas in the case of our two distinguished leaders, he has proven a hard-working Congressman. To vote against him would compel us to vote in favor of his Republican opposite, who is committed to continuing segregation. In such an instance we have little choice except to vote for Albert Thomas.

ON THE AMENDMENTS we will vote as follows:

Amendment 1, let the Legislature compensate people who have been falsely imprisoned, we vote YES. People unjustly imprisoned should be compensated for their time, and the Legislature will always be there to determine whether they merit it, so it's a safe vote.

Amendment 2 would let County Commissioners Courts allocate tax sources among various county funds with more flexibility. This will encourage some log-rolling in the County Commission, but it is better to let them do it at the local source, so we vote YES.

Amendment 3 would take A & M and the University of Texas out of a building fund, financed by a 5 per cent ad valorem tax, and give them the right to issue negotiable bonds or notes for building purposes, based on their own permanent university fund. It is more flexibility in building, and we think that the vote should be YES.

As to the second part of the amendment, which permits them to vote more in corporate stocks and bonds, I think it is safe to vote the power, and hope they will have discretion, so I'd say YES on the whole amendment.

Amendment 4 would give the teachers a chance for a better retirement system of pay, permitting them to contribute more and providing that they get more when they retire. We ought to be ashamed that this has not been passed already and vote a big YES for that.

Amendment 5 increases or adds to the Veterans Land Program Fund, and would replace the Gov-

NEGRO (CARTER WESLEY)

ernor and the Attorney General with, an expert in veterans' affairs and another in finances. While the second part of the amendment is very desirable, I

don't believe that we should put any more money over there in the Veterans Land Grant program until it is straightened out and running smoothly. I vote NO.

Amendment 6 calls for a technical change in the Constitution which doesn't change its effect. I vote YES.

Amendment 7 permits people of unsound mind to have through the selection of their lawyer or their advisors the right to a trial without jury, juries are embarrassing to them and the juries don't know any more about mentalities than the persons tried. They are protected from railroading because the law provides that they can't be committed except on competent medical or psychiatric testimony. Neither do they have to be tried without a jury, the privilege is with them to waive a jury or to take one. Texas is probably the last state in the union that still requires a jury trial. We vote YES on it.

Amendment 8 provides that persons previously convicted for felonies may be denied right to bail. It would be difficult for a Negro to bring himself to vote for that, because too many of them have been railroaded on convictions, and would be the victims if brought up for a second trial on a felony. We vote NO.

Amendment 9 doesn't really go in this comment but should come in next week's comment, because it will not be voted on until the whole 13th on account of an error made in preparing it. But for those who spoken for, and stood up for, the want to ponder it now we say that it would authorize the state to put up as much as \$20 a month for permanently and totally disabled people, most of whom are not included in the state's confusion for some well-meaning Welfare program. These people need the help more than anybody else. It is a reasonable amount for the state to put up and it will be more than matched by the Federal Government. Every body ought to vote Yes for this, we certainly do.

THE SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION is a jungle of warring emotions for the average citizen. On the four positions we stand as follows:

FOR POSITION 1 we think that Dr Henry Petersen, the incumbent, has been on the board long enough, and has shown by his rudeness to the lady chairman that he doesn't deserve the public office. Dr Petersen has brazenly said that he is for continued segregation of children in schools, thus showing himself openly against the interests of Negroes. Today Negroes' attitude is that anyone against them will get no support from them. So because Mrs Rogers has been a valiant soldier in the effort to run the school board decently, and for the best interests of children, we will vote for Mrs Rogers, and wish we could cast more than one vote.

FOR POSITION 2, where Stone Wells is running against the incumbent Jack Tucker, not only does Stone Wells show himself undeserving of Negroes' support because of his declaration in support of continued segregation of their children, he proved in his previous tour of duty on the board that he was only interested in suppressing the rights of Negroes and continuing the discrimination against them. Jack Tucker has come out with the cockeyed proposition that segregation can't be taken up until the Negro schools are improved, which means that segregation never would be taken up under his theory.

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FOR POSITION 3, there is a thicket of candidates, resulting in now included in the state's confusion for some well-meaning Welfare program. These people need the help more than anybody else. It is a reasonable amount for the state to put up and it will be more than matched by the Federal Government. Every body ought to vote Yes for this, we certainly do.

Rev Robert E Hayes, an educated Christian father, who deserves the support of all liberals as well

Texans Like Dumb Driven Cattle On The Political Scene

By CARTER WESLEY

Politicians in the South are kicking Negroes and their rights around in the hope of winning votes from the demagogues, or they are kicking them around and hiding them under the tables, in an attempt to pretend liberal on the one side and at the same time curry or keep favor with the traditions of the South on the other. In this movement, they are taking Negroes' votes, but refusing to give Negroes offices or other emoluments that come to those on the side of the victor.

When it is suggested to them that they appoint Negroes to offices under them if they win office, they always raise the question as to what reaction they will get from whites. Well, the answer should be, "Then if you are scared to give us a fair deal for our vote, let the whites elect you and we will use our vote some other way."

We came into the voting process backward, and were so glad to get in that we have just been voting whenever the gong rang, without much attention to what we voted for. Ours was a fight to break into the Democratic primary, because it was the only place to vote effectively, and we were fought tooth and toenail to keep us out. So when we got in, we sort of felt like we didn't want to rock the boat, and we wanted to do whatever the others did, so they would not say that we were handicapped, therefore, ever since we have been in we have been like dumb-driver cattle voting for demagogues and anybody else that was put up by the white side for their purposes.

BUTTS IS CUCKOO

Marion Butts of the Dallas Express had an article in the paper last week to the effect that he agreed with our contention that the politicians had been kicking Negroes around, but he differed with our statement that it was basically better not to vote at all than to vote for demagogues, race haters and other people that were against us.

One. He made the empty point that politicians only kick those

around who let the politicians kick them around. Who said anything to the contrary, or about why we are kicked around at all? The point is that we have been kicked around and we need to do something to stop it.

Two: He stated that he differed with us that it is better not to vote at all than to vote for demagogues, etc, but instead of giving his reasons, he went on to talk about Negroes having attempted to be politicians of various stripes and kinds, dwindling off into a discussion of the difference between Robert Mercer and W J Durham. That's not responsive and I am not interested in any of it.

What I want him to tell the reader is why he thinks that it is better for the Negro to vote for demagogues, Dixiecrats and race haters than it is to refrain from voting for anybody, if you can't find anybody but that type in the race.

Then he makes the grand, empty point that Negroes must vote as Negroes, saying politicians have put us in that role and the only way to deal with politicians is to deal like they deal. That then makes us go right back to "attempting to be politicians," which

he was condemning in his third paragraph. If you ask me, I think the brother is as nutty as a squirrel, and just using words.

EVALUATING VOTES

My concern with Negroes having been kicked around was primarily to shock the intelligent Negro into realizing his plight so that he will do something about it. The first step is to realize that a

vote can be expended by the voter nobody else that we can cast a to improve public, political conditions. Candidates, running on issues and as personalities who represent the things that a voter wants are politicians, or at least office-seekers. It becomes necessary now that the Negro voter take a judicious and intelligent look at the issues and the personalities involved in elections.

First of all, hero worship should be thrown out. Next, and almost of equal importance, so-called old friendships with politicians and guys in office should be discounted. A vote for the current election can buy benefits in that election and not of something that has happened in the past.

Let's first ask ourselves what would we want the candidate to do for our race and for the community, if he were elected. If it is known that he can't do all that we want, how much of what we want will he do? Obviously, if he is committed on the other side of the issue, namely, to do just the opposite of what we want, we should not want to vote for him.

By the same token, if he is a demagogue, a race hater, a states righter, we should not even consider him as a candidate, unless it is an exceptional case where he is willing and will pledge himself to do specifically what we want, despite the fact that he has the record of being any of the other things. But to vote for a man because he knew your mother, because you worked for him once, or because he helped you or your kid to get a job 20 years ago, is almost treason to your race. You paid him for those benefits long ago, and you don't owe him a thing now. When you walk into the booth, you should walk in with the idea that it's a clean go, and you will enter contracts through casting your vote for candidates who have something to give you in consideration for the vote; if they have nothing to give you, or if what they have is against you, you don't vote for them.

REFRAINING FROM VOTING

To Mr Butts, and a few others who think on the surface, it is just unthinkable not to vote for a candidate in a particular position on the ballot. In their opinion it is better to vote to elect a demagogue, a states righter, or a racial supremacist, if those are the only three running, than it is to refuse to vote at all, if there is

vote for to express our opposition to those three.

As a matter of fact, there are different categories in which the vote can be used effectively. The most usual one is by casting it for people who are calculated to do the thing that is best for the community and fits the interest of the voter. Then there is the occasional interests, when the voter will deliberately cast his vote for a person that he isn't interested in and doesn't necessarily expect to be elected, but as a protest or as an emphasis against the other person. Third, there is the instance where nobody on the whole slate for the particular position is fit to vote for, and since there is no way to register a good, sound negative protest, the only thing for an intelligent person to do is to pass up voting for that particular position.

I'll admit that the general idea of the vote is to cast it for somebody or something. But that doesn't mean that like blind robots we must just go on and cast a vote without regard to what the effect of the vote will be. Suppose, for

instance, a former sheriff, who had brutally beaten Negroes and had the reputation of violating the civil rights of Negroes when arresting them, were running for office. Suppose against him the only person running was a Citizens Council candidate and an open Dixiecrat. Does our friend Butts tell us that we just have to vote for one of these? The remedy is that we would have to be forehanded and try to help organize the community's strength to put a third person in before the registration closed. The trouble with Negroes is they don't think about the candidates until it is time to vote, or until the candidates are out, tell them that they ought to vote for them because their old Mammy worked in their kitchen. Negroes have got to learn to think of their votes before even the candidates offer themselves to go on the slate. They are going to have to make themselves vocal for their rights beforehand, and also as to the worthiness and the fitness of the people who offer themselves. I've seen a few intelligent Negroes, a few labor leaders, and a few others get together and decide on candidates, and put the candidates in the race. This is the remedy against a continuous failure to vote because no

candidate is worthy. This would not occur to Mr Butts, of course, because he has not thought enough about it, really, to have anything but some superficial ideas that are at war with each other.

DEMOCRATIC ALIGNMENT

Let's turn away from our playful pawing of Brother Butts. What is going to be the alliance in the coming primaries and in the convention action that is before us? Are Lyndon Johnson and Sam Rayburn going to carry the idea of moderation, of saving the party, to the point of compounding or trying to work with the Shivers Executive Committee and the Shivers' factions? What is the Rayburn-Johnson group going to do as between Price Daniel and Ralph Yarborough?

When the September convention comes around, is Senator Johnson going to insist on keeping some of the Shivers Executive Committee members? How much sacrifice will the liberal wing of this coalition be expected to make in order to appease the Shivercrats?

Is it to be expected that Senator Johnson will be seeking to avoid a strong civil rights plank's being adopted at the Democratic convention? Where will the liberal wing of the Texas delegation be on this issue? Here it might be well to say that we believe the best chance for the Democrats to win and hold votes will be for them to adopt a rather strong civil rights plank. But we are sure that the Southern wing is going to be against the adoption of such a plank, and Senator Johnson is expected to be more or less a leader, if not the leader of the Southern wing.

I am just wondering whether or not this coalition of the liberals and the Johnson faction isn't one of convenience, which is likely to shatter itself on the first big issue that it runs into? It would seem that Senator Johnson's opposition to Mrs Randolph was not just because he had committed himself to another friend. It looks like he was trying this compromise plan by bringing in one liberal and one Dixiecrat, or Shivercrat, among the two National Democratic Executive Committeemen and-woman. It is doubtful that at present the liberals and the Shivercrats are in any mood to lie down in the same

bed together. But will Senator Johnson be responsive to the oil interests, or will he be responsive to the liberals, labor and the like?

Current Events

Informant P.1
Sat. 6-9-56
CARTER WESLEY
Houston, Tex.

THE GOLDEN FALCON definitely the child of competition. Golden Falcon happens to be the name given to the Eastern Airlines flight that leaves Houston at 3:30 in the afternoon for New York. Now the truth is that Eastern has had such a flight for a number of years, but since they've got a competing line flying to New York, they have brightened up their flight with this name. They have also brightened the flight up with extra doodads. The ceilings of the planes are gold now. The meals are better. When one comes down the ramp to the ground, there is a thick grass rug that is sort of golden in color for one to step on. When one buys a ticket, one also gets the selection of a seat that is numbered, and save one of having to scramble to have to get in to find a seat. But in essence it's the same old flight, we were nearly on time going up, but coming back we were three hours off schedule, and that's the way the old flights used to be, sometimes on and sometimes off.

THE LEXINGTON HOTEL IS OLD! I have been thinking that the Lexington Hotel was a nice, medium-sized, modern hotel. The rooms have a radio, telephone, private bath, shoeshine cloth, towels, etc., etc. But would you believe that they don't have a plug in the bathroom for an electric razor. Can you imagine it! Of course, I haven't had my electric razor but a month or so, and had not been up to New York to stay in The Lexington in a couple of years. Reckon I ought to quit staying at The Lexington, or do you think that I ought to give up my electric razor and go back to the old straight one.

I GOOFED AND HOW! All the years I've been flying to New York, I've been going down to the terminal on 42nd street and taking a bus out to the Newark airport. I checked my ticket in when I got in that Thursday night, and was all set. But the girl called me before I woke up Saturday morning to tell me that the plane would leave at 11:30 a.m. instead of 9:50, but it never occurred to me to ask her about the bus transportation to Newark. So I allowed myself just good time to get to the 42nd street station to catch the bus, got my taxi and hired myself over there. But I didn't get over there, because

the taxi driver said that the 42nd street station was closed and they were now using 38th street. I went to 38th street, grateful to the taxi driver for saving me, to discover that there was no bus from that station, and that the station from which the bus would go was on the west side. But the bus would be leaving just about the time I am talking to the attendant at the 38th street station, and there I am, set to miss my flight. When I suggested that I could take a taxi over, the attendant looked at me, raised his brows and said, "That would be rather expensive." He tried to check with the west side to see if there was anything, and there wasn't. The only hope was to try to rush over there, but he told me himself that there just wasn't time to do it. I decided not to argue but took my bags and went out and got a taxi, and told him to drive me to the Newark airport. It didn't cost but \$12! If I'd used my head, the taxi fare wouldn't have cost me over 75 cents to the air terminal, and then the bus fare would have cost me \$1.50. You live, but you don't always learn.

Informant P.1
ROBINSON CAN, JOE LOUIS CAN'T — Ray Robinson has made an agreement with the government to pay his income debt by the end of this year. The government took a substantial part of the \$90,000 that Ray got from the Bobo Olson fight, and accepted Robinson's agreement for the balance. Poor old Joe, who owes over a million, has not got any prospect of earning a million dollars to pay the government. One Congressman from New Jersey has been pushing a bill, or talking about pushing a bill, to get some sort of remittance of Joe's taxes. Incidentally, I was talking to a white acquaintance who knows Joe well. He laughed at the fact that Joe isn't suffering at all, and he always has money enough to do anything he wants to do. The thing came out in our mixed audience to show that Joe Louis is probably the most popular man, and the best liked man that is moving around now in the sports or the theatrical world.

Informant P.1
Sat. 6-9-56
MARYLAND COUNTIES TO INTEGRATE, despite the fact that Anne Arundel county has received a threat over desegregation. All told, 15 Maryland counties plan to desegregate this fall.

Informant P.1
ARLINGTON SCHOOL SUIT UNIQUE — Arlington, which is just out of Washington in Virginia, has a suit in which both Negro and white children are plaintiffs, asking for integration, claiming that segregation discriminates against them. The whites are saying that to be

kept away from studying with the Negro children impairs their educational opportunities, and Negro children are saying it just the same, only differently.

GANG RIVALS FIGHT — There was a great deal of space given to riots between white and colored boys on a boat going into Crystal Beach, Ontario. The boat had left New York, and one of the Negro preachers in New York said that in truth it was merely a fight between two Negro teen-age gangs, who had agreed to fight on the beach and on the boat. Others, both Negroes and whites, were drawn into the fight, but the fight was basically between these two gangs. Saturday the police were seemingly accepting that version. Kind of hard on the Southerners, who had pricked up their ears on "this riot between whites and colored" up there in New York and Canada, isn't it?

BEACHES DESEGREGATE, NO INCIDENT — Maryland's two main publicly owned beaches at Baltimore opened last week, and there was no incident. Negroes used the beaches as they saw fit, the whites were there and nobody paid any attention to anybody.

"GOVERNMENT OF LAW", an editorial that appeared in the Corpus Christi Caller Friday, first calls attention to the reckless attacks made upon our courts by irresponsible men, and then quotes a sensible statement by Attorney Everett L. Looney of Austin. Mr. Looney's statement points out the need of law and government by law, and the responsibility of lawyers to maintain this fact openly, then points out that even if a decision of the court is wrong, it can always be reached through legislative action, if the majority of the people feel that the decision is wrong. But the demagogues are raising sand in the street, because they fear that the majority think that the desegregation decision is right. Both The Caller and Attorney Looney are doing a service to the whole state in this.

THE TWO TEACHERS ASSOCIATIONS MERGED in Louisville last week. Now in the case of one association with white and Negro teachers, how much discrimination can a broad show to Negro teachers as they integrate the schools? I don't think any, and I don't believe that in the South, where the Negroes and whites are separate, that they are going to be able to continue to show discrimination in employing Negroes to teach white children, just as they will have to employ whites to teach Negro children.

SO THE BOND ISSUE PASSED, lege in Tallahassee arrested for renow what is next? Inevitably the board will build schools in the old segregated pattern, which are to serve in the desegregated pattern, a rather strange procedure, don't you think? The great haste to pass the bond issue was to let the board rush and put up schools that will be located geographically in Negro areas, so that for the most part they will be Negro schools, despite the Supreme Court's desegregation decision. It's a rather snide trick played upon the Negroes who support liberals, but we predict that in the long run it isn't going to do them much good.

YARBOROUGH SHOWS HIS COLORS at last. When I read where Yarborough had said that he is against enforced desegregation, I thought of Marion Butts, who had been wrangling about the obligation to always vote, and wondered how he would justify asking his readers to vote for Yarborough. I thought, also, of a gentleman who has recently been elected by the liberals as a full-fledged delegate to the national convention, was election the price for his soul? It will be interesting now to hear the Negroes, who feel that they just must stick in with the liberals and vote any way they go, trying to explain the difference between Yarborough, Price Daniel or Pappy O'Daniel or Senterfitt, for that matter. Yarborough and those advising him have gambled heavily upon the Negroes' dumbly following in the pattern of liberal Democrats, they aren't dreaming that Negroes might refuse to have their vote trapped and either put up a dark horse, or deliberately pick up one of the worst candidates and vote for him as a protest against this double-crossing by their so-called friends. Is it that Negroes will have to vote to continue to segregate themselves in education, to stick with the liberals? Will Negroes now realize that a true alliance is only strong when both parties, to the alliance are willing to sacrifice for the other party, but when the Negro must make all of the sacrifices in an alliance with liberals, he doesn't have an alliance, he, the Negro, has merely made himself a puppet.

TALLAHASSEE CONCEDES to the demand of the Negro boycotters, and it was predicted, as we wrote this Monday, that the boycott would be settled on Monday. Here the story began when a bus driver had two coeds of the Negro col-

THE GRAND PRIZE BOYCOTT was reported as moving on apace. Seemingly all the taverns and cafes that sell beer had decided to support the boycott, whether they belonged to the Beer Dealers Association or not. The only tavern owner I heard of, who was reported to have said that he was still going to buy and sell Grand Prize in his business, was a college man. That fact got me to thinking about these boycotts and who originated them. I understand that in Montgomery the preachers were running, and did organize the boycott into a force of strength, but that the idea and the movement originated with the common man, who said that he would not ride the buses as long as the company treated his women as they treated Mrs. Parks. Here the Beer Dealers, and themselves being ordinary men and women, decided that they would no longer sell Grand Prize Beer loaded and seasoned with Delmar's insults. One good thing about the common man is that he doesn't think comprehensively, he thinks simply and he therefore isn't frightened at the larger implications of movements. Both in Montgomery and in Houston it was a simple matter for the average person to react, that they just weren't going to ride any more buses, and that Negroes shouldn't drink any more Grand Prize beer as long as Mr. Delmar insulted them gratuitously as a member of the board. In both Montgomery and Houston the intellectuals would have been appalled at the great hazards and risks involved in organizing the boycott and making it stick, and all the things that might go in it, etc., etc., but the common man doesn't think of all of that, he just goes on and does a thing. I heard over the week-end that at least one Negro who used to work for Grand

commending the community.

of the week-end Informer that car in the community, commending the local story. Members of their act.

certain individual beer dealers tried the local story. Members of their act. about giving up the boycott, some of the Beer Dealers Association were say he claimed that "the Old Man" and others say that he didn't say who sent him but might really caught on, and that they are have been trying to get back in getting calls from other tavern Grand Prize by persuading Negro owners that don't belong, commending I was told, authoritatively, when I ing them, as well as many calls got back in town that somebody at Grand Prize had bought 1000 copies

Urges Negroes Write-In

Informal Houston Tex
Sat 6-30-56
 By CARTER WESLEY

I recommend that Negroes in Texas deny their vote to Ralph Yarborough for governor, but cast it by writing in the name of Dr. Lonnie E. Smith, plaintiff in the successful primary suit, for governor.

This has the advantage of filling all the requisites, equities and demands of those who feel that they must vote in the governor's race.

First of all, since Mr. Yarborough has indicated that he is willing to throw us to the dogs, and to show himself an ingrate after taking our votes in 1952 and 1954, in order that he win the East Texas vote, let's give him a chance to get elected by the East Texas vote, if he can.

On the other hand, by voting for somebody like Lonnie E. Smith, the plaintiff in the suit that broke the primary in the South; or Dr. L. A. Nixon, who twice knocked out the primary,—and a man whom I don't think we have ever given full credit and honor to; or Herman Marion Sweatt, successful in the educational suit, we show respect for those who have done something for us and who are of our race, when we write in their names as candidate for governor.

In the next place, we overcome the objection of the politicians who argue that if we merely refrain from voting in the governor's race our vote doesn't count. Every write-in vote that we make in favor of own candidate for governor will be counted in the total and will affect the score that will determine who will be in the runoff primary and who won't.

This way we avoid letting Mr. Yarborough, who has shown utter ingratitude for our staunch support in 1952 and 1954, by coming out now, when he thinks we have nowhere to go, saying that he is for continuation of segregation. Oh, yes, I know, he said that he was against "forced comingling," but even the dumb East Texas hillbilly knows that he meant by that statement that he is for continuation of segregation. He might have been hoping that we'd be dumb enough to believe that there was a distinction.

Casting our vote for one of our own, by writing in such person's name, does the other thing of highlighting the absurdity of all of the candidates placing their hope upon being elected by riding in on the East Texas vote. Haley, Senterfitt, O'Daniel, Price Daniel, J. J. Holmes and Yarborough are all pointing their race toward winning the East Texas vote. Not all of them are going to get that vote and I think Mr. Yarborough is one of those who isn't going to get a big chunk of it.

Informal
 What can be more dramatic than to let him cast us aside, depending upon winning the East Texas vote, to find out in the July primary that he has reckoned without his host?

If that eventuality takes place, and there is every reason for believing that it probably will, not only will Mr. Yarborough, but a lot of other of these demagogic politicians, will wake up to the stupidity of their hate-filled campaign. But as long as they can curry favor with the East Texas hillbillies, by insulting us and indicating that they want us to stay disfranchised, discriminated against and denied equal educational facilities, and still get our vote, they will do it. What have we to lose by denying them our vote, along with the East Texas hillbillies' vote?

FALSE ALARMS

Don't let the cheap politicians, who want to feather their nests by throwing us to the dogs, tell you that this way we are likely to elect one of the candidates, who hates us. So far as we are concerned there isn't any difference in the Candidates, all of them have expressed themselves as being against our interests, against our progress in improved civil rights, education, etc. The only difference in Yarborough and the other clique of race baiters is that Yarborough is less manly about his stand than they are. But it is certain that Yarborough has made it clear that he isn't including any of our interests in his platform or his plans as he runs for governor. Our destiny is wrapped up in desegregation, anybody who is against it is directly against our destiny and our freedom as well as our basic civil rights.

Sat 6-30-56
 We could make some sharp observations about the Negro leadership that want to wait upon Mr. Yarborough, after he had made

NEGRO (CARTER WESLEY)

the statement that he was against "forced comingling." But however misguided they may have been, we honestly believe they went in good faith, hoping some way that they would get something out of the talks. The tragedy was that instead of having fixed ideas in their minds as to what they wanted from Mr. Yarborough, and what was right, they went there with their hats in their hands, to see if Mr. Yarborough would say something kindly to them, so they could still justify following behind him afar.

The trouble that we are suffering from in our leaders is that the leaders have no convictions, no principles, and after 10 years of voting, have no plan by which we will ever get anything out of a vote. They are still opportunists, hoping that by rushing out to support somebody, they will get the big job and somehow miraculously be counted as a great Moses. That poor group at Houston, which went to see Mr. Yarborough, did not even have the thought of demanding that he publicly change his statement on "forced comingling." They encouraged Mr. Yarborough to say that he had made the statement to win East Texas votes, but that he was going to be nice to them, when elected. In short, they encouraged Mr. Yarborough to deceive them and to make dupes of them.

STRAIGHT THINKING

There are some of the men in our race who have been following along with the Democratic party for a long time, and they have acquaintances in the party that they trust and believe in. Unfortunately, these leaders do not realize how much they are interested in themselves, when they permit that they be easily persuaded to go with the white Democrats on occasion, such as following Yarborough.

I can easily see how the liberal whites would not be too much disturbed over Mr. Yarborough's statement about "forced comingling." But any Negro leader, who failed to hear in Mr. Yarborough's words a stark declaration that he was joining the East Texas hillbilly haters, is just plumb dumb, deaf and blind. Such a leader is not thinking, he is living in his emotions.

We concede that the better position for an honest, liberal politician to take is that of following the law, and refusal to go into detail on the question of segregation. I believe that a liberal, strong man would be best off in politics to say that he will follow the law and enforce it, when he takes an oath. That we concede

would be smarter than saying that he would knock out segregation. But that's not the same as having a man, whom you have been supporting for two successive elections, come out suddenly and say that he is in favor of segregation, the same as Yarborough has done in his jumble of words.

The masses of people are going to have to do some thinking on their own, because many of the leaders are so anxious to buy in for themselves, they are not willing to be honest with their followers on this question of support for Yarborough. They are not willing to face up to the plain, simple proposition that they will support no man who declares himself against our being desegregated, and getting our civil rights for our children in education. But no man and no woman, who are Christians and who are honest, ought to be willing to tamper with or to waiver at all on the proposition that he or she will support nobody who declares himself against equal educational facilities.

THE ONLY POSITION

It is not a rash position to take, if you believe that the desegregation decision of the Supreme Court is correct. It is a sensible decision, if you believe that inevitably the Supreme Court's decision will take effect. For if the Supreme Court's decision is right, then all of the gubernatorial candidates who are taking the anti-Supreme Court attitude are wrong, and sooner or later they are bound to wash out.

If you believe that just as Governor Shivers and Attorney General John Ben Shepperd have lost issue after issue since May 17, 1954, because they were wrong, then you are bound to expect that all of these candidates who are now following in their footsteps are also going to lose. Oh, some one of them will be elected governor, but that doesn't mean that he will carry out his promise to the East Texas people about segregation. Remember, Governor Shivers in 1954 said that as long as he was governor Negroes and whites would never attend school together in Texas, you know how he failed in keeping that promise. The attorney general has been wrong on nearly everything he has said on this question.

So the people are going to have to make their decision and act on it. It's the masses of people who are not concerned about the pleasure or displeasure of the politician, not the leaders. What if we don't support the leaders that will happen to win, he will be

committed to doing everything he can against desegregation, and in favor of what the East Texas hillbillies want, in any case. But if the people vote solidly for their write-in candidate, they will have made two points very clear and distinct:

First they will have established for everybody to see that the East Texas vote is very, very much exaggerated in importance and in possibilities. They will have made the point clear that not everybody can have the East Texas vote; and on the other hand, that nobody can have the Negro vote and the East Texas vote at the same time. Then and then only will the tradition of kicking the Negro around be broken. Only after we have demonstrated this can we expect politicians to weigh our vote for itself, and to respect it as being in possession of people worthy of respect.

The second point to be made clear to the politician is that the day is past when candidates can walk on us and kick us, and still expect us to be following in their camps. We will have shown that we have the nerve and the courage to turn our backs on any and all who betray our trust and are ungrateful for the support we have given in the past.

Current Events

Informal
Sat 6-30-56
 BY CARTER WESLEY
 TAKE IT EASY—The same big black headlines that are being used by the dailies today to herald the take-over of mob violence in Tennessee and Texas were used 35 years ago to herald the mob's prowess in lynching Negroes. A couple of years ago at Medford a mob took over similarly to prevent Negro children from going to school. The mob has subsided long ago and the kids are now in school. So in Tennessee and Texas the mobs will subside and the children will enter school, sooner or later. To get angry and resort to some unlawful counteraction will be just to waste one's patience, nerves, etc. To get scared that the mob is going to take over is another way to waste energy and to put one's self at a disadvantage. Here we have to have faith in democracy, and it should not be too

hard if we stop to remember that all the mobs in history have dissolved without really affecting anything or bringing about any fundamental changes. Just remember, nobody has yet in our history overawed a federal court or defied its orders for long, and go on about your daily work, taking it easy and not getting excited or frightened.

POOR SPORTSMANSHIP — The people in Mansfield, Fort Worth, Dallas, Houston and a number of other cities, sat on their hands and refused to implement the Supreme Court's decision calling for integration in the public schools. Negroes are put to the expense of going to the courts in the local areas to get implementation. In the case of Mansfield, Negroes were being sent away to Fort Worth, whereas white kids were being furnished a high school in Mansfield. Then when the Negroes spent their money and went through the long process of court hearings, and won, the whites haven't been good enough sports to accept the decision of the courts. Governor Shivers, Atty General John Ben Shepperd, the Citizens Councils, and many of the liberal dailies and white leaders of the South, insisted that school segregation problems should be worked out on the local level. Negroes went in on the local level at Mansfield, filed their suit, tried it on the local level, and ultimately the local federal district judge issued an order in their favor, telling the Mansfield school board to service Negroes in the high school. Then the mobs at Mansfield, encouraged by Governor Shivers, who suggested to Mansfield that they do exactly what the federal district court had told them they could not do, namely, send the Negro kids out of Mansfield, refused to accept the local situation. Now it's no use for the liberal whites to tell us that it was the lawless Citizens Councils that caused the riot at Mansfield. The Citizens Councils had been sustained by tacit and expressed support from the so-called leadership of the South all the time. But more significant is the fact that not a single liberal white has spoken out against their lawlessness at

Mansfield, and the unsportsmanlike action of the school board at Dallas. The thing out of which public opinion and real law enforcement develops is the expressed public opinion of the better citizenry in the community. Where are the white citizens of the South who believe in law? Yes, the Negro has proved that he believes in law, but he is certainly being made to pay a high price for his belief in law. The charge of poor sportsmanship goes to the liberal, the Christian, and all other whites who refused to speak out against this open lawlessness and defiance of order.

A FINE LEGAL POINT—Governor Shivers is reported to have wired the school authorities at Mansfield authority "to transfer out of the school district any student, black or white, who might be the cause of inciting violence." Now on what ground can any person be transferred out of his home town or district? If one violator the law in regard to violence or mob action, he is entitled to be arrested and tried by his peers in his own bailiwick. What do the words "who might be CAUSE OF INCITING VIOLENCE" mean? A pretty girl around the school, caused violence, is she for that reason to be moved out of Mansfield? If the governor is talking about students, or prospective students, white or black, for the Mansfield school, does he mean by the word "means" an instrumentality? Why shouldn't such a person be thrown in jail at his home in Mansfield? Does he mean by the words "means" that somebody else is going to riot because such person or students applies for registration at the school? Why shouldn't the governor order the person who does the rioting moved out, or at least arrested, instead of the student, who is doing nothing but what is his legal right? It looks to me like the governor is using a lot of words, that have no meaning, to obscure the fact that he is defying the order of a federal district court. It also seems that the governor recognizes this fact in the statement he is quoted to have made, suggesting that if

JOHNSTON GOES COLORED

With a lot of off-again, on-again switching of votes by the board members themselves, the school board finally voted 4 to 3 in a meeting Friday, to change Johnston Junior High from a white school to a Negro school. Negroes also are divided over the matter of the switch. The majority of Negroes believe that the school can see the issues and stand up particularly since so many of the white residents around it had already expressed to the superintendent and other authorities their preference to being integrated to moving. The voting of no Negro would attend the University of Texas; or the University of Oklahoma, or Louisiana State, and they repeatedly said the same thing of most of our junior colleges over the state, when Negroes were. When Negroes started moving into the Oakland Street territory in Dallas, the demagogues bombed, and formed all kinds of associations, saying that the Negro should not pass into this exclusive area. When Negroes in Houston began to go into the southside, the same thing happened and the same words were uttered. But one could go back 20 years before that to Detroit in the Sweet case, when the whites said Negroes could not live in certain areas in Detroit. The same things is true of Los Angeles and probably hundreds of other places, North, South, and principally South. In every instance Negroes are now in areas where they could not go, according to the demagogues. Now the mob at Mansfield, Texas, says that Negroes cannot enter the high school there. They are like a lone man defending

it to colored. Mrs Dyer and Dr Petersen voted to continue the school white on Monday, and their vote Friday at least was not inconsistent with that. They indicated by their vote all the way through that they did not want to help Negroes either way.

DR KING DEFINES LEADERS

as "in love with justice, not money . . . not publicity, but service . . . men who have honor . . . who can stand before a demagogue and damn his treacherous flattery without winking . . . sincere, consecrated, intelligent, and courageous."

"There is a desperate need for leadership all over this nation," he said, "leaders who can avoid the excesses of complacency on the one hand and hot-headedness, on the other, who can see the issues and stand up for the right."

HERE WE GO AGAIN

over the same old ground we have been going over now for the last 10 years. The demagogues said no Negro would attend the University of Texas; or the University of Oklahoma, or Louisiana State, and they repeatedly said the same thing of most of our junior colleges over the state, when Negroes were. When Negroes started moving into the Oakland Street territory in Dallas, the demagogues bombed, and formed all kinds of associations, saying that the Negro should not pass into this exclusive area. When Negroes in Houston began to go into the southside, the same thing happened and the same words were uttered. But one could go back 20 years before that to Detroit in the Sweet case, when the whites said Negroes could not live in certain areas in Detroit. The same things is true of Los Angeles and probably hundreds of other places, North, South, and principally South. In every instance Negroes are now in areas where they could not go, according to the demagogues. Now the mob at Mansfield, Texas, says that Negroes cannot enter the high school there. They are like a lone man defending

his camp, after it has been surrounded by the Indians at night, they haven't a chance. Let Negroes be assured that the action of the mob in Mansfield and Clinton, Tennessee, embarrassed the leadership of the white South, as well as over the nation, far more than it embarrasses the Negroes. Negroes should possess their souls in patience and let the whites struggle over Mansfield and Clinton, while the Negroes busy themselves with making sure that they are ready for the opportunities that are opening up. The only thing we have to worry about as a race now is being prepared.

THE 6-DAM PLAN is at present in a controversy between the Brazos River Authority, and the various lighting and power utility companies in the area. It is rather difficult for a layman to understand all the technicalities, but one thing, upon which the laymen in this area can ask the Brazos Authority to give testimony, is the question of the cost of electric power after the six dams are set up on the Brazos River. From sources entirely independent of the power companies, it is established that Houston's cost of electricity is among the low costs of large cities in the nation. Will the building of the dams lower that cost or will it increase it? We need water, the dams are calculated to provide more water, and incidentally will provide electric power, which the utility companies say they would buy. The next big point is that the utilities claim that the dams would not bring any substantial increase in the water supply at the mouth of the Brazos, which is the thing of probably prime importance to the people in this area. Certainly we'd want some evidence from the Brazos River Authority on the question of future costs of power and the amount.

THE BRIGHT SIDE of the picture in this struggle over segregation is shown by excerpts from a letter that I got from a friend in Louisville:

"We're integrating our schools

from top to bottom next month, but not the teachers this year. The superintendent says, 'One big thing at a time,' and I guess he's right. No one around here anticipates any real trouble, although a Citizens Council was chartered here a month ago, with headquarters here in Louisville. However, they've had a rough day, they've been selected for the varsity football team."

To Admit Negroes On Same Basis As Whites

By CARTER WESLEY
NEW ORLEANS —

The time barrier, which dilatory school boards have been building up over their segregated pattern to delay compliance with the United States Supreme Court's decision, was shattered here by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in a case appealed from the lower district court by Negro high school pupils of Mansfield, Texas.

The court speaking through J. C. Hutcheson, chief judge, ordered:

"That plaintiffs have the right to admission to, and to attend, the Mansfield High School on the SAME BASIS AS MEMBERS OF THE WHITE RACE;" (emphasis is ours).

When the decree placed the to promptly, fully, and effectively right of the plaintiffs to enter the carry out this mandate and the Mansfield High School "ON THE orders of the district court pursuant to the decree, the district court pur- SAME BASIS AS MEMBERS OF THE WHITE RACE," it preclud- ed the necessity of any school board having to study to find ways, all these school boards, who means, etc., to admit Negroes. It have been taking months to read directs that the school board shall so-called investigations and re- just admit them, just like they search reports. In this case the admit white children, and forbids school board had said that they them to exclude them on any other were making studies, and that bases than those bases upon the plaintiffs had brought the suit which now exclude whites. prematurely, before the school board had finished their studies,

Perhaps a fuller quote of the board had finished their studies, order will make it clearer for etc., etc., etc. It looks like they the reader:

"THE JUDGMENT IS, there- fore, REVERSED and the cause is REMANDED with instructions to the district court that it declare: that plaintiffs have the right to admission to, and to attend, the Mansfield High School on the same basis as members of the white race; that the refusal of the defendants (school board and superintendent) to admit plaintiffs thereto on account of their race or color is unlawful; that it order the defendants forever restrain- ed from refusing admission there- to to any of the plaintiffs shown to be qualified in all respects for admission; and that it retain juris- diction for the cause for further

"Here, citing cases in complete support, appellants insist that the board had not brought itself with- in the protection of the 'prompt and reasonable start' require- ments of the Supreme Court. In- voking the settled doctrines: (1) the plaintiffs and the Mansfield High School was its concession to public opinion."

It would seem that now we'd have enough for everybody. The Supreme Court of the United States has spoken, the Texas Su- preme Court has spoken, and now the Circuit Court of Appeals for this district has spoken, and they all agree that segregation is un- lawful. But the biggest gain in this particular case comes from the fact that the court has at last punctured the bubble of hope of these southerners, who have been thinking that they would have carte blanche to delay desegregat- ing as long as they wanted. The time barrier has been broken through in this Mansfield case.

"We think it clear that, upon the plainest principles governing cases of this kind, the decision appealed from was wrong in re- fusing to declare the constitution- al rights of plaintiffs to have the school board, acting promptly, and completely uninfluenced by private and public opinion as to the desirability of desegregation in the community, proceed with delibe- rate speed consistent with admin- istration to abolish segregation in Mansfield's only high school and to put into effect desegregation there."

OUT OF THEIR MOUTHS

The court convicted the superin- tendent and board of dilly-daely- ing by the testimony given by these gentlemen themselves. Here are the court's words:

"THIS MISAPPREHENSION ap- pears from the undisputed evi- dence of superintendent and board members which plainly shows that the board had not given ser- ious consideration to its para- mount duty not to delay but to proceed with integration in respect to the soll high school in Mans- field, but, quite to the contrary, had taken definite action to con- tinue segregation there through-

stupid can we be?

SEEN AT TYLER — Of course everybody knows that the hier- archy of the NAACP was here and I have already named mos of them except Lulu White, whom I waved at. I didn't see Juanita Craft, and I'll kid her for being scared to show up 'way out in East Texas where Ben Shepperd was on the warpath. I saw and talked to Rev Browning. I saw Solomon the photographer, who has operated practically all over Texas one time or another. Cliff Richardson was, there with his camera and taking notes, the very personable lady who is managing editor of the Star Post now, and whose name I keep for- getting was there, along with Mrs Julia Scott of the Dallas Ex- press. Mrs I. W. Rowan, almost ran over me, and never did see me. Truth is, she was by me be- fore I saw her, and I would have missed her except that she was hollering at somebody who was just about disappearing into the courtroom, as we were leaving after adjournment for lunch. Had lunch at Texas College with Rev John Epps, Dr Ward (that's Lulu Whitehead's husband who used to be at TSU); a Miss Samuels, an instructor at the school, and Mrs Fred Long, registrar or bursar at Texas College. Saw Durward Col- lins and his neighbor, Mr Cecil; saw Mrs Almita Robinson, who is still down on me for an article I wrote about the Austin housing situation in Fort Worth several weeks ago. One of the outstand- ing encounters was with a young lady, formerly Miss Hazel Walker who worked with us at The In- press. She later married at Tyler and I can't recall her married name. Hazel has been in to see me when she was in Houston, I have tried to find her in Tyler, and then all unexpectedly Fri- day, while I was in the tearoom at Texas College, who should come up to greet me but Hazel, who is taking some special work at Texas College.

To get to Tyler I got up at 4 a m, but really woke up at 2:30 and never went back to sleep.

Current Events

By CARTER WESLEY

EATING WITH A NEGRO cost the Commissioner of Health, Educa- tion, ect, in Florida her job last week. It seems that the lady, who holds a doctorate and was the first woman to head the Com- mission on Health, Education, etc., in Florida, decided to save time by having her chief assist- ant, and the Negro head of the nurses, to a conference over luncheon. That did it! The Flor- ida powers that be had to make an example of the good lady white doctor who headed the de- partment. In the same town in Florida, all bet blind that five out of six of the key officials eat food from Negroes' hands every meal that they have. But it is the importance of racial supremacy that makes them fire a doctorate in health for deigning to eat at the same table with a nurse on her staff, who happened to be colored. How cruel, brazen and

But it was worth it to get the atmosphere and to gauge the animus and designs of the Attorney General and his staff.

AMENDMENT NUMBER 4
ON SCHOOLS) will be on the ballot for your attention November 6. It has to do with the interests of the school and the personnel. School personnel will be allowed to increase their yearly contributions to the retirement fund to a maximum \$504 as against \$180 now, and thus increase the retirement pay that they will get. Every retired teacher would be guaranteed at least \$1200 a year if the amendment is put into effect. Disability, death and survival benefits would be provided on a generous scale. Teachers are poorly paid, and the pensions they get now are really starvation allowances. Let's vote for this amendment and try to make the teachers more secure, at least, in their retirement.

EVIDENCE OF BARRATRY, which was offered last week at Tyler by the Attorney General, is likely, when the record is made, to be rather flimsy. Saturday reporters from daily papers were calling me practically all day, and into the night, about the Sweatt Trust and the so-called contract between the NAACP and Sweatt. The Attorney General's associate, who was a witness, said that he found a contract in the state's office showing that the NAACP had contracted to pay Sweatt \$11,000 to be a plaintiff in the Sweatt case. It must have sounded rather formidable when this personable assistant attorney general was testifying under oath that he found this agreement, indicating that the NAACP had thus induced Sweatt to be a plaintiff.

I think I'm right in saying that Herman Sweatt was on my payroll here when he became a plaintiff in the Sweatt case. He was on leave, as I remember it, from the post office at the time. It seemed that there developed some question in Mr Sweatt's mind as to whether he would lose his job at the post office by becoming the plaintiff. I gave Mr Sweatt a solemn guarantee of continuance of his job here, if he lost his job at the post office, and there was seems that when the case got in dollars for paying tuition. It no talk of and \$11,000 or other

its final stages, or maybe after it was won, there was discussion between Mr Sweatt and individual people who had been interested in his suit, either restricted to or at least including some NAACP officials. Mr Sweatt claimed that he was promised \$11,500 to cover his expenses of attending the school, including the cost of moving from Houston to Austin. He never claimed, and I am certain that if his deposition is taken, he will not claim now that the \$11,000 was offered to him as an inducement to become a plaintiff. I don't know whether there was ever an agreement between him and anybody on this question, or whether it was his figure that he was bargaining to get. It do know positively that the NAACP did not raise anything like \$11,000, and do know positively that there as no written agreement, and it as either just a talking matter, it never got out of the verbal state; for after our special Citizens Committee in Houston raised round \$9,600 gross, some of us demanded an agreement covering the total expenses of Mr Sweatt's finishing UT. We announced that we weren't going to pay out a nickel until we knew just what the score was, and, therefore, we had to have the contract. Then it developed that there was no contract. This came with both Sweatt and the NAACP officials present in a conference. We then insisted that they had better work out one by which all of the arguments and the squabble between Mr Sweatt and the NAACP would be fixed and certain, because we weren't going to pay a nickel of that money out to Sweatt or anybody else until we knew just what was the score, so that we could make sure that we wouldn't be bothered by any subsequent arguments or public seeking of funds or anything else on the Sweatt matter. It was only then that an agreement was drawn up to try to reflect satisfaction from Mr Sweatt, a release of the NAACP from any claims has done, and the manner in from Mr Sweatt, and the agreement was signed on the same day that Mr Sweatt signed the trust agreement that we had drawn and were putting into effect, and they were both signed in Austin while Mr Sweatt was in the law school already. Now take those facts and put them beside the testimony at Tyler, and you'll

see what kind of evidence the Attorney General has been putting in ex parte against the NAACP. One of the reporters who called Saturday thought the witness on the stand at Tyler said that the instrument was dated prior to Mr Sweatt's entering the University of Texas Law School, I told him I wouldn't contend on that, that when they drew it they might have carried the date back, but I would contend, and I do assert, that the contract was not actually drawn until after we had raised the money, and it was not signed until months after Mr Sweatt had entered the law school of the University of Texas, and was signed by him at Austin, Texas. Under the trust agreement he was to get \$875 a quarter for the rest of the time that he would be in school, contemplated to have been the balance of three years, minus the time that he had already been in school before we raised the funds. The confusion probably comes over the fact that a drive for funds generally was launched, I think soon after the Supreme Court's decision in June of 1950, called the Sweatt Victory Fund. It was for general use and was not connected with our drive. I've gone at length into this so that our readers will know to take with a grain of salt the big headlines that appear in the paper, indicating that Tate or Maceo Smith or Durham or Bunkley is supposed to have been coercing people to become plaintiffs. Somebody writes from a branch to Tate, asking what is the procedure they have to go to to get ready for a suit, Tate answers and tells them the requisites, the Attorney General finds the letter and jumps to the conclusion that Tate wrote it to induce the man, or to coerce the man, to put his child in school. Let's wait until all the evidence is in and final hearing is had. If the NAACP can be put out of business for the work it has done, and the manner in which it has done it in Texas, while the Citizens Councils and the Citizens League can go on, aided and abetted by the Attorney General's office, as we believe, then we are really in for a serious lapse of the principles of justice and fair play. Jewish people have their organizations for their protection and advance-

ment, the Mexican people have their protection and advance. Citizens Councils, the Citizens Leagues, the Minute Women, and probably a hundred other organizations, all working for the advancement of their race or for communities or segments of their race. We not only won't apologize for the NAACP, but we will promise the Attorney General that we will "lay" him to the Supreme Court, and if he goes to the lower regions, instead of lawing him down there, we will put some dirt on him.

BOYCOTT ABANDONED IN HENDERSON, KY

HENDERSON, Ky — After a meeting of anti-integration and school authorities, Friday, it was unanimously decided that the boycott of Henderson's public schools be abandoned but that the aim of the boycott be sought through legislative channels.

A meeting of the citizens council was scheduled Saturday night to organize in an attempt to continue their operations as a "legal and lawful third party."

The boycott had also spread to elementary schools in the Henderson city system causing more than 200 students out of 900 in two Henderson city grade schools to stay away from classes Friday.

Negro In The South Is Getting Kicked Around By Politicians

By CARTER WESLEY

I think the Negro in the South is getting a kicking around by politicians, and I get mad every time I hear some Negro enthusiastic about supporting some of the so-called "liberals." Nine times out of ten the Negro is forbidden to announce out in public that he is supporting this "liberal," and the "liberal" shuns him publicly as if he were the plague.

Negroes in Texas have been we are going to have to reach voting now since 1944, or a total out and take them through our of 12 years, and not only are vote. Don't listen to any of those they the forgotten voter, they are cowardly, slick-tongued Negroes, the despised, the hated, and the who tell you that we have to avoided voter. It's galling to see keep on slinking around in the Negroes seemingly enjoying that dark, and trust our "liberals" to obnoxious role to the extent that look after us. The liberals haven't they consider themselves as being looked after us yet.

"in politics" and are happy to grovel in the dark shadows, dragging themselves in the hidden by-ways toward their "liberals." I, too, have stayed around in the flanks, saying that we did not give our "liberals" the kiss of death by letting the demagogues and race supremacists call him a Negro-lover. What a fool I was!

Well, I at least have made up my mind that anybody that can't openly say he wants my vote, acknowledge that he wants it and speak of it with respect, won't get it. Anybody to whom the acknowledgment of my vote amounts to the kiss of death won't get my vote from now on.

Anybody who says publicly that he is for the continuance of segregation, whether in schools or any other public facility, is not going to get my vote; for if he is only a liberal, then he is de-ciding to keep the Negro in the other hand, he means that he is against segregation. "he is no liberal," he is a sneaking, treacher-ous guy who is trying to play both ends to the middle.

WE MUST HELP OURSELVES

We aren't ever going to get above our stomachs, until we lift ourselves by our own hind feet. No-body is going to put an office or any of the emoluments of voting in our laps. If we are ever to elect any of our group to office,

and to get the benefits of office, we are going to have to reach out and take them through our vote. Don't listen to any of those they the forgotten voter, they are cowardly, slick-tongued Negroes, the despised, the hated, and the who tell you that we have to avoided voter. It's galling to see keep on slinking around in the Negroes seemingly enjoying that dark, and trust our "liberals" to obnoxious role to the extent that look after us. The liberals haven't they consider themselves as being looked after us yet.

Let's take a look at the Negro communities that have lifted themselves up to their feet, and have gone forth to be counted as real men and voted as a community for their good. Chicago was the first city to send a Negro to be an alderman, and the first city to send a Negro to Congress in this century. Does anybody think that the white "liberals" in Chicago nominated the Negroes and sent them to be aldermen and to Congress? No, the Chicago Negro developed his vote, organized and voted solidly to defeat those in politics who were against the best interests of Negroes. As a result it was as natural as the fall of rain for Negroes to be nominated for jobs and for offices. And it was natural for Negroes to be appointed to key jobs in appreciation of their having supported the winning ticket.

For instance, when I went to law school in Chicago in 1919-22, Louis Wright was in the Railroad Commission at a salary of \$12,00, one of the highest salaries Negroes had ever received then. But I knew Negro women who were probation officers, Negroes who were tax clerks, and serving in many other capacities. Negroes got there by throwing aside their slick, self-serving leaders, who were always ready to sell them down the river, and voting for

men who stood for character and for purpose, and who would speak up for the rights of the community.

THE PATTERN IS THE SAME

The Pattern is the same in every community, North or South, where Negroes have gotten anywhere through the vote. Negroes elected a councilman in Winston-Salem, he was an upstanding preacher, respected by everybody. Negroes have elected President Clement of Atlanta University to the board of education in Atlanta. They put him forward, frankly and openly, and to their surprise they got a great number of white votes, from whites who believed that the Negro should have representation.

But the classic example of what the Negro can do through his vote is in New York, which today really has more Negroes in higher offices than Chicago. In a recent issue of the New York Post, Ted Poston had a good article on Negro politicians, beginning back in 1930 when Tammany put Big Ed Stephens in the assembly. Well, the Republicans had nominated a Negro from the 19th Ward, and the Democrats, which was Tammany, had to match them and that's how Big Ed got in the race. With Negroes in on both sides somebody had to win, so Big Ed Stephens won and became the first Negro alderman. The Negro on the Republican side was Myles Paige, who is now a Special Sessions court justice.

In the same year of 1930, James S. Watson and Charles E. Toney were elected to the City Municipal Court bench on the Democratic ticket, too.

So year by year the Negro has gone on extending his patronage and being elected to office in New York.

The truth is that in New York both the Republicans and Democrats have pretty well surrendered leadership in Harlem to Negroes. Without taking time to name the myriads of Negroes that now hold office, it's enough to say that Hulan Jack, as the Manhattan borough president, elected on the Democratic ticket, is just one round removed from the mayor's

job in New York.

I don't have any notion that we in Houston or the people in Dallas, or any of these towns would be the mayor or the vice mayor now or in the next five years, but I do feel strongly that the firm core of Negro voters has got to begin voting in connection with people who mean something for the cause of the race, and stop voting just for the pleasure of exercising the franchise. The vote is wasted if it isn't placed where it will get somebody elected who will do the right thing and make it better for all people, including Negroes. To cast a vote for some so-called "liberal", who is really a demagogue and a racial supremacist, is stupid and foolish.

There is still a great number of Negroes who feel that they are traitors and that they have thrown away their vote, if they don't cast it, even though the only candidates running are demagogues, race haters and Dixiecrats. You not only don't have to vote for anybody that won't help your race and do you any good, but it's foolish to vote for such a person, because you prolong your misery and put into office people who intend to keep up your misery.

VACATION TIPS

Here's a tip for vacationing motorists: Put that glove compartment to work by turning it into a well-stocked first aid kit which should include such standard items as bandages, iodine, eye drops, aspirin and salt tablets. Each of these will play an important part in making the long drive to vacationland an enjoyable experience instead of a nightmare.

Current Events

By CARTER WESLEY

WOULD JESUS SPEAK?

Today many a Negro is finding it impossible to reconcile the atti-

tude of the Christian and the church of the white South with what he or she has been taught about the simple honesty and the forthrightness of Jesus. The Negro can't reconcile the tacit support being given to people who are defying the Constitution on this segregation question with a Jesus filled with righteous indignation, whipping the money changers from the temple. The first bright flash of light that Negroes got from Christian leadership down South came from the clear stand of Archbishop Rummel of the New Orleans diocese. The next one came from the statement of Ex-Chancellor James P. Hart. Then there was the voice of Mrs. A. S. Vandervoort. Now there has come the clear light from Attorney Palmer Hutcheson. As nearly as it is humanly possible, I believe that Attorney Hutcheson is saying just about what Jesus would say of this issue of sin, and I believe he is saying it in the humble, simple manner in which Jesus would approach it: I refer to the lead letter in the column "Sound-Off" in the Houston Post of Friday May 18. I am carrying the article as it appeared therein on Page 3, Section 1, Columns 1 and 2, of this issue.

ALL THINGS TO ALL MEN is what Eisenhower is trying to be today. But it is still true that no man can be all things to all men. For a man to be respected and followed, he must be first and last true to honor, truth and kindness. I like advisors have him trying to win and hold the Negro vote, and win and hold the State Rights and Dixiecratic Southerners' votes at the same time. If Ike were out of politics he'd know that that's impossible. The Negro wants, and is insisting upon, the end of segregation in all phases of life in the South. The Dixiecrats and the States Righters want, and are insisting upon, continuation of segregation in all patterns of the South. Ike is also trying to win the labor vote, and at the same time hold the support of the Manufacturers Association. Here again he is trying to straddle between two feuding camps. In this vein, I'm afraid Herman Talmadge's endorsement of Adlai Stevenson the other day, at the

same time that he rejected Ke-Rights has ruled that real estate fau-er, may turn out to have been dealers are subject to the state

the kiss of death for Stevenson. law, which prohibits discrimina-

There are Negroes who have been tory practices by establishments wondering for a long time if Stev-

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the beat of the music, or if a few lose the beat and have to stop? We were just being privileged to see the children, who were admittedly ending their first year of dancing lessons, in their process of learning. Besides, all of us were parents, and parents have long since learned to sympathize with the errors, the failures and mistakes of their children, probably more deeply than they do with the successes. As for Mrs Sallie Bowie Daniels, she is entitled to praise from any angle. It pleased the whole audience when she announced that one of the children was sick and she was going to dance in her place, and went on and danced with a little girl, who was not more than 7 or 8, as her partner. It not only showed democracy, but it showed how much she thought of dancing itself, somebody using dancing just for a vehicle would have been too proud to have got out on the floor with a kid. Then one noted her unshakable poise throughout. But the big thing the children demonstrated the wide range of ability and knowledge that she has. There were two girls who actually had on toe-dancing shoes and did dance on their toes very acceptably. We are not overlooking the boys, one youngster did a very interesting job of tap dancing to open up the program.

Then the program was fun to me because I saw several mothers, who were graduates, really, of The Informer, where they had worked before. One of them, Jerry, (Mrs C A Woodard) came up to me after the program and said, "You don't remember me!" I said, "How come I don't remember you? You were one of my prize girls," and she was. Not only a lady, but her work was conscientious, and she was loyal to obligations and her family, which made us respect her out of the ordinary. I don't mind admitting that we are proud of the people who helped themselves working here to the place where they are now teachers, postal employees, professors and successful business men. Some day I think I'll write a story about the people who graduated from our plant.

LONG SHOWS TRUE COLORS. now that he is elected and has benefitted by the Negro's vote, he says that he is firmly for the maintenance and enforcement of segregation in Louisiana. Again it emphasizes the point that we have been trying to make recently

about Negroes needing to come out of their dream world and begin to vote for issues, and for people who will serve a definite purpose. Negroes fooled themselves about as much as Governor Earl Long fooled them, Long's contribution was merely being a little vague, and Negroes built up in their minds a Long that was different from the one that they'd lose him enough of the Negro votes known. Now they've got him elected for four years and he turns out to be as solidly against them as his predecessor, or as any of the other candidates whom the Negroes helped to defeat.

Nobody Knows Which Way Negroes Will Vote

By CARTER WESLEY

Speculation mounts daily by writers in both the Republican and Democratic parties as to which party the Negro vote will go this year. Democratic writers are sure that the Negro vote will stay with that party, but Republican writers are just as sure that the Negro vote is shifting to the Republican party. So-called independent columnists are hedging their bets by talking about percentage of shifts, without ever telling what the total vote will be.

The plain truth is that nobody knows today which way the Negro will vote at this hour, let alone how the Negro will vote later. In many instances the Negro voter is still making up his mind. That mass mind of the Negro voters could change more than once between now and time for the crucial vote.

ANGERED AND CONFUSED

A great many Negroes across the nation have been angered by the attempt of both President Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson to straddle on the enforcement of the Supreme Court's decision on education. It's true that both of these gentlemen have made great effort to make up the loss or correct the error they committed in trying to treat the rebellious South as equal, in its law observance and its rights, to the Negroes who won the right to integration.

Of the three candidates now running, Kefauver has come off better with the Negro voters in his stand on enforcement of the Supreme Court's decision than either Ike or Adlai. As between Ike and Adlai, Ike has the better position, simply because Ike does have a record of Washington and enforcement in the Army and in government areas where the executive had the word. Poor old Stevenson has nothing but words, and those

words were unfortunately weak on some already to the Republicans. The real question is whether or not the bulk of the Negro vote, or a sufficient amount of the Negro vote, will go to the Republicans to change the picture. It will be more profitable to discuss the issues than to attempt a dogmatic answer. Emotion plays a big part in decisions that Negroes make, particularly originally on issues. It will be very easy to personalize and associate the Democrats with the Till lynching, the Autherine Lucy mobbing, the Montgomery boycotts, the Montgomery persecution of the boycotters, and the murders in Georgia and Mississippi.

Neither will it be very difficult to arouse Negro voters against the Democrats by ascribing to them the responsibility for elevating Senator Johnson told them that he was not going to jeopardize future elections by doing anything for Negroes. Lyndon Johnson fought his heart out for the oil bill and the over the President's attempt to gas bill, respectively, but I don't straddle on the question of supporting and enforcing the Supreme Court's education decision. The Negroes might be aroused because the Executive branch of the government not only has not supported the Supreme Court's decision, it has tended to criticize the Negroes who have followed the law, and have only been insisting upon their rights which the court and the law give them.

I believe the Negro vote is shifting some toward the Republican party at this instance. I honestly don't know how much that shift of the Dixiecrats and States-Righters supported him, and will be expected him to follow their line at the convention. Labor and the Negroes will rebel openly before they will follow the Dixiecratic line. It's a lot of stuff when they tell you that they didn't pledge the county delegation to Johnson, because the committee meeting broke up before they voted a recommendation on it. They didn't intend to pledge the delegation to Johnson, because they want to leave their hands free to fight for what they want. W Lee O'Daniel, who sang himself into public office, came out of change in this one year of 1956.

THE TEXAS NEGRO VOTE

Maybe it's in order to say a word about the Texas Negro's possible decision in 1944, knocking out the vote. The Texas Negro voter this primary bar, that Negroes still year is faced with the task of would not vote. Price Daniel is credited with having been a leading architect of the Southern Manifesto, issued against the Supreme Court's education decision. Ralph Yarborough has run three times, while using every underhanded and in-the-dark movement he could to get the Negro vote. He's hedged and equivocated on the Negro question, so that there would be no reason to expect anything but the same hedging, if he were ever there is an election, par-stances, as when it is voted most vigorously. Certainly unless some of those six new undesirable choices come alive with some positive offers to our advantage, I think we ought to think a long choice.

Habit is hard to break, particularly in politicians. Negroes blind-ly voted Republican for nearly 60 years. There is no reason to predict a radical, sharp complete change in this one year of 1956.

On the front side is the so-called Texas Republican party, lily-white to the point of being indistinguishable from the States - Righters. Then there are the Loyalists, or the Lyndon Johnson Democrats. Over on the other side, a little hard to

see because of the dirt from their recent drubbing, are the Shivercrats and States-Righters. What's the choice there? Lyndon Johnson, who won the 1948 election by 87 votes, which was clearly through the Negro support, made his first public, and official act a filibuster in the Senate against a bill to grant Negroes civil rights. Since he won the election in '48, he has turned his back resolutely on Negroes, and actually has refused to make even a gesture of appreciation by any token act of good will toward Negroes in Texas or in the nation despite the fact that he has been majority leader now for about four years. Indeed, Negroes, who went to President Truman's inaugural Democrats by ascribing to them the responsibility for elevating Senator Johnson told them that he was not going to jeopardize future elections by doing anything for Negroes. Lyndon Johnson fought his heart out for the oil bill and the over the President's attempt to gas bill, respectively, but I don't straddle on the question of supporting and enforcing the Supreme Court's education decision.

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thing but the same hedging, if he were ever there is an election, par-stances, as when it is voted most vigorously. Certainly unless some of those six new undesirable choices come alive with some positive offers to our advantage, I think we ought to think a long choice. Few of them have ever stopped to think about the seventh choice. Negro voters may come to the place where they have to pose the six unattractive alternatives against date on the ballot than to vote for the negative alternative of refusing him although the scratching of such to vote at all. Somehow Negroes a candidate means no vote for that have come under the spell of the particular office. The vote can be psychology that they just must vote just as potent withheld, in some in-

Current Events

By CARTER WESLEY

LOCAL NAACP OFFICIALS

ROAR and beat their chests from every soapbox in Houston, as if they think the big top will make the walls of discrimination, and segregation fall down. Maybe it's no longer true that resolute men act, and talk little. If a suit needs to be filed against the school board, then we hear a fiery speech of defiance, but we get no action. If a test needs to be made of the bias of a cafe in a county building, we hear a speech, but we see no quiet organization of a group to go in and test the law. There is a goodly number of people who support the NAACP, who don't like to be always saying what they are going to do, before they even take counsel or make any plans to do it.

A TICKET *OF* GOVERNOR

SHIVERS as vice president, running with President Eisenhower, is just so much moon cheese. This suggestion was made last week by John O'Donnell of the New York Daily News. It's an interesting tidbit and will attract attention, but it just isn't true or even practical. For the President to accept the governor as his running mate would mean that he would be jeopardizing the support of most of the Republicans and a large segment of the Northern Democrats, plus the most of labor and practically all the Negro vote, for only the chance of getting the ultra-reactionary Southern vote. That doesn't make sense from anybody's standpoint.

LOUISIANA SUPPRESSING THE NAACP?

Even though the state has now gotten an order from the judge at Baton Rouge, banning the NAACP until it files a full membership list for the past three years, I still don't believe Louisiana will succeed in banning the NAACP in that state. But even if the NAACP were officially banned, there would be no way to stop the individuals from doing the same thing individually that they had been doing through the NAACP. I don't believe that a court in Louisiana could prevent Thurgood Marshall from appearing at the behest of the employment of private in-

dividuals to try any case or issue. ing swimming pools to be opened to all citizens, without regard to race or creed, and added a vote to slow down or choke off its fight pool, which will be located somewhere in the Negro area. The Citizens Council at Corpus got twice what they asked for. Because the Southern tradition, to sides, Corpus doesn't intend to withhold contributions to the Unit-let San Antonio get ahead of College Fund. In the first place, pus in this matter of being a good one would have thought that the American city, following the law NAACP has been going slow and Christian principles.

PRIDE IN PERSON AND HOME should not be forgotten. To have it go any slower means to while we fight for our rights as citizens generally. It's painful to request it to abandon all efforts toward supporting the theory and drive through newly-occupied seapinciple of desegregation. It's more accurate to say some of Citizens Councils, the governors the older sections that have been and attorneys general, the con- taken over, and find clothes hang- gressmen and other rash leaders, ing out on the front, people sitting including in some instances preach- on the front with their hair un- ers of the South, have been mak- combed, not fully dressed, and ing the most noise and doing the to find their yards cluttered with most pushing to agitate the ques- paper and other debris which tion of desegregation. Why isn't the should be cleaned out. It's one request of these college heads and thing to get into a better neigh- other conservative Negro leaders borhood, it's another to be able addressed to the people who a- to show appreciation of it by really doing the agitating, making keeping it clean and not lower- the threats, and villifying the Su- ing it through failure to look af- preme Court and threatening er our homes and ourselves. A everybody? It's probably true that pig lies in his mud and does if these conservative leaders could nothing to clean himself or his have their way, they'd like to go place, but a human being is sup- back and rub out or prevent the posed to always keep himself and NAACP's having brought cases to his environments clean and in the Supreme Court at all. We here good order.

C W RICE HAS BEGGED

so hard for a discussion of the He- man Sweatt case, including the fund raised to complete his edu- cation, it may be, now that all of the members of the committee are up again, we ought to let him blow himself up with the Sweatt case. Nobody has been excited about the Sweatt case expect him, and maybe one or two disgruntled relatives or friends. The treasurer happened to have been in the hos- pital, and the committee was not going to insult the treasurer by making any kind of apology about the Sweatt funds which have been handled in apple pie order from the very beginning. In answer to the plain statement that in 1935-36 C W Rice was telling Negro workers not to join either the CIO or the A F of L. and holding out a company union for them to join. Mr Rice has replied that the writer somehow is criminally in- volved in the misappropriation of Sweatt funds. They say, "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad." If he is wrong about me and the Sweatt funds, that leaves him still having confessed to subversive leadership of labor

CORPUS WALKS "TWO MILES"

It was appropriate that Corpus fulfill the Scriptures last week, coming up to Easter and the resurrection of Christ. Read- ers will remember that it was the admonition of the Savior that if your brother asks you to walk a mile, you should walk two miles with him. The Citizens Council asked Corpus Christi city council to provide for separate-but-equal swimming pools for Negroes. Corpus Christi's official body re- sponded by declaring the exist-

to subversive leadership of labor in the mid-30's, without com- pany in wickedness. Next week hope to begin to discuss the S case in toto.

Current Events

By CARTER WESLEY

THE NABRIT WEDDING

No, not Sam Nabrit, nor Jim Nabrit II, this is Jim Nabrit III, whom most Houstonians and Tex- ans will remember as a babe in his mother's arms when his daddy was practicing law here. Having finished Yale last summer, young Jimmy was ready to take unto himself his Washington sweet- heart, Miss Roberta Jacquelyn Harlan, who is also the daughter of a lawyer. I get a little chunk of notice, because Jim Nabrit III is my godson.

ANOTHER FIRST was registered when Attorney John Clark, the first Negro elected to Hartford City Council, became the first Negro to ever serve as acting mayor. While it suggests Negroes moving into new areas, it also reminds all that the Negro has been excluded from those areas both in the North and South. The chief difference is the North admits it and is doing something about it, and the South denies it and wants everybody to forget it. 3-31-56

THE LAST LAUGH went to James A. Wechsler, editor of the New York Post, and against Gro- ver C. Hall, Jr., editor of the Montgomery Advertiser. Mr. Hall had published conspicuously in his paper that he was going to New York to do a story on discrimina- tion and abuse of Negroes in New York City with Murray Kempton of The Post, who had been in Montgomery covering the bus boy- cott. James A. Wechsler, in whose eyes one can see the imp- dancing a thousand miles away, decided to pull Mr. Hall's leg a little. So he substituted Ted Pos- ton, a Negro on his paper, for Mr. Kempton, as the person from The Post to take Mr. Hall around on his investigation in New York. Mr. Hall backed up from his New York venture faster than a craw- fish backs into his hole, when a barefoot boy comes wading after him!

SAN ANTONIO ENDS SEGRE- GATION by one sweeping order,

not only ending segregation in swimming pools but in all mu- nicipally - owned facilities, even those that shall be leased already to persons, groups, associations, or corporations.

20 YRS. AGO AND NOW

shows (1) that history does repeat it- self and (2) that you can't change a leopard's spots. Twenty years ago C. W. Rice and his Labor News were devoting all of their space and thought to trying to prevent Negroes from joining either the A.F. of L. union or the CIO, telling Negroes that the CIO was a Communist outfit, and that the A. F. of L. was irretrievably prejudiced against Negro workers and would never do anything but abuse them. This writer and The Informer were busy telling the Negro worker to join either the CIO or the A. F. of L., depending upon which one was organizing his particular industry or place of work. We were telling the Ne- gro workmen that their ambitions and their plight were one with that of the white workmen, there- fore, they should be together, striving for better conditions for both white and black worker. Now after 20 years, how does Mr. Rice justify the things he told Negro workers back there, when they were seeking advice and direction as to what course to take, after the Wagner act and the CIO de- veloped the industrial form of organization? What now will he say happened to his company union idea that he tried to foist off on the Negro worker in this community? What of those people that were striking, that he oppos- ed in his paper? I seem to re- member some laundry women who were thwarted by Mr. Rice's efforts, when they tried to get better wages. This was C. W. Rice and the Labor News 20 years ago at a time when there was con- siderable turn in the life of the Negro. Today we are facing an- other turn and crisis. Today the Negro is trying to throw the yoke of segregation off his neck. We here at The Informer are com- mitted to the proposition that all segregation is discriminatory, con- trary to Christian principles and to the principles of democracy, and we are urging Negroes to use every legal means to end seg-regation. Mr. Rice, as per usual, has allied himself with the dem- agogues, racial supremacists, Dixiecrats and Citizens Leagues, using his every word and in- fluence to try to discourage Ne-

groes from fighting for their freedom. In his view, the Montgomery boycott is wrong. Miss Lucy was wrong to try to go to the University of Alabama, the boycotting and picketing of Governor Shivers when he spoke at TSU was wrong. In fact, nothing that any Negroes do in the interest of ending segregation is right, in the eyes of Mr. Rice and his Labor News. But he was wrong 20 years ago in his advice to Negro working people, he has been wrong uniformly in the interim, so why should we be surprised that he is wrong now? Like all irresponsible men, Mr. Rice enjoys the luxury of not having to be careful to say nothing which he would not willingly be responsible for 20 years later. Like Hitler, Mussolini and the other opportunists, he says whatever suits his immediate convenience.

THE PICKETING ALMOST FAILED to come off. I had from time to time remembered that some of the key officials of the local branch of the NAACP were not on the picket line, and would think that I'd ask somebody about it, but kept forgetting. Then the word came to me that tremendous pressure had been put on the local NAACP officials group, or certain key ones of the group, to halt and prevent the picketing. I have just learned recently that when the Baptist Ministerial Alliance was asked to endorse the picketing, the chairman said that they were going to take a silent role. The saying now is that the pressure was so strong that one prominent preacher announced from his pulpit, on the Sunday of the picketing, that there'd be no picketing. But at the same 11 o'clock service, the chairman of the Ministerial Alliance is reported to have announced in his church that anybody who did cross the picket line was no good. Where were all of the local officials, who didn't show up?

PRICE DANIEL'S ROUGH, TOO. Now, belatedly, I hear that Senator Price Daniel was rough on the delegation of Texans who went to visit him during the recent conference on desegregation which was called at Washington. I got to ask another of the four Texans who went in to see Congressman Albert Thomas, along with J. J. Jones and T. D. Armstrong, and stayed in there after Jones had been insulted and he and Armstrong had left. This particular gentleman, who stayed in, said he stayed in because Mrs. Adair was asking Congressman Thomas questions and he stayed to wait for her. I still ask, what kind of answers could she want or desire from Congressman Thomas, after he had insulted

the spokesman for the delegation? This gentleman also said that Jones was rather pointed in his questions, and he thought he could have been a little more tactful. I asked him if it were true, as I had been told, that Congressman Thomas was evading answering questions by talking a lot of nothing every time he was asked a question? He admitted that Congressman Thomas was doing just that. Then I asked him what else he expected Mr. Jones to do, except to point his questions. He admitted then that that probably was all that could be done. All this is carried to show how we still are suffering from the inferiority complex which makes us always ready to excuse abuse, and to turn on those of our own group who undertake to do something about abuse.

ON A FORCED TRIP TO DALLAS last week I found Mmes. Julia Scott and Margaret Bowman, both Dallas newshens, off the sick list. I chatted with Rev. Merrell Booker, Attorney U. Simpson Tate, dropped in to see George Allen, found him out; dropped in to see Clarence Starks, found him out. The flu, gripe or cold that had me all Wednesday, kept me so wretched in Dallas I didn't try to see many people unless they were right in my immediate path.

GULLIBLE WHITES are easily taken in by Negroes. The Negro learned during slavery to tell the white man in the South what the white man wanted to hear, and then go home in the evening and laugh about it. Al Kuettner of the United Press traveled 2500 miles through the South, checking on Negroes to see if they wanted integration and agreed with the NAACP. A great majority of the Negroes interviewed told him they did not think as the NAACP did, and gave him to believe that they wanted segregation to continue. Mr. Kuettner could have stayed at his home office and looked at Montgomery, where he'd see Negroes of all walks of life, all denominations and all colors, solidly enduring hardships to indicate their dislike of segregation and abuse. They say actions speak louder than words, but the Southern white man just can't believe it. Or he could just look at the operation of the car pool and see that Southern Negroes from every walk of life are contributing the car pool, so that those in Montgomery may be able to carry out their purpose. How can an intelligent man, in the face of Montgomery, Alabama's boycott, talk about Negroes in the South not being for the NAACP? He doesn't see Negroes subscribing to the Citizens Councils, but if he looks he will see them subscribing to the NAACP, to the boycott, and

to every other movement to get the most part even the reactionaries were dyed-in-the-wool, loyal Democrats. Interposition didn't get off the ground.

Current Events

By CARTER WESLEY

SHIVERS WAS SLAIN, but good, in Saturday's precinct elections over the state. Yes, the biggest dragon of intolerance was slain. Thus liberal forces have destroyed both the officials who have attempted to use their positions to twist the laws and subvert the truth from their offices. John Ben Shepperd, the attorney general, was repudiated by the Supreme Court, the Criminal Court of Appeals, and frowned on by the Bar Association. The blight eliminated him. Now the vote has stamped Shivers with the word: "Void."

THERE IS SIGNIFICANCE in the fight just ended as well as the result. Readers will remember that I said in '54 that I'd been able up to then to understand Shivers' moves, although I didn't always agree with them, but I couldn't understand him staking his career on the defiance of the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution, and I said then that so far as I could see he had entered a blind alley, or a cul-de-sac. In '52, readers will remember that I had suggested that it seemed to me that Shivers might be committing political suicide in leaving his party and voting for the Republicans. Saturday Governor Shivers, who had controlled the Democratic party in Texas since 1950, met his Waterloo in the precincts. The elements and forces against him were as numerous as those that defeated Napoleon at the original Waterloo in 1815. The issues upon which the battle was waged were clear and of the governor's own making. He rode to battle on the issues of interposition, states rights, distraction of the Supreme Court, return of two-party rule to the Democratic party, and the right to be in the Democratic party and at the same time be free and independent of it and its national nominee. The Rayburn-Johnson forces rallied behind the principle of loyal Democrats, with the commitment to support the party platform and its nominees. The governor ran over the state like an animal beside himself, trying to rally the demagogues and the reactionary forces in the Democratic party, but for

the most part even the reactionaries were dyed-in-the-wool, loyal Democrats. Interposition didn't get off the ground.

In fact, all of his issues proved to be spurious and without appeal to the common people in his time of need. The governor did a Paul Revere across and through the whole state, so that he and his supporters cannot deny that the people epudiated him and his ideas.

SCHOOL INCUMBENTS were repudiated on a broad scale throughout the Harris County area where school board elections were held. What was the significance of the voters' turning out the incumbents, in none of the areas had they desegregated? Did the voters' action indicate weariness with these people who dragged their feet on the Supreme Court's decision?

THAT YOU CAN'T DO BUSINESS with Communists was again proven in England last week. The Labor party had a dinner for Bulganin and Khrushchev, which may prove to be more historic than the 10-day visit of the Communist leaders to London officially. B. and K. had been putting on an act to make the people believe that the Communists have changed their stripes since the death of Stalin, and that now the Communists were all milk and honey and wanting peace. But when they got to Britain they found a cold reception, and at this labor dinner the labor leaders were not too respectful in the questions and comments that they made on the visitors and Russia generally. Finally, Khrushchev was fed up, and he showed himself to be the bully that he is, and always has been. He bragged about how they were making hydrogen weapons, and how they had developed large planes and other tools of war, doing all this while they were talking about peace and not wanting war. I've said the odd time that you can't do business with Communists, and all the people who try to do business with Communists are fools.

MY 1ST PRECINCT CONVENTION was stimulating. Out of about 43, my wife, Katharine, another preacher, and I were the only Negroes in attendance. We carried Katharine because there was nobody at home to leave her with. The three of us sat on the front seat, and on arrival were the only Negroes. The preacher came in later. Sitting on the other end of the same row was an old gentle-

man, who had a pasteboard card on his left lapel, headed by the line "States Rights." In about 12 point type, and words underneath it saying what they believed in. In his shirt pocket, below this lapel of the coat, he carried a battery for his hearing apparatus. Soon another old coot came in, and this first one called and they sat together. We didn't know any of the other people attending the convention, except the election judge, who had come to our house and asked us to come up to the convention. When the election judge, who was a woman, opened the meeting by calling for the nomination of a temporary chairman, the argument started. It seemed that there were in all three nominees, with the Dixiecrat faction getting their nominee in late. Just before they got the nominee in, the floor leader moved that the nomination be closed on the two previous ones. The second of the old duffers, who had come in, persistently argued for getting his nominee in. The lady chairman wasn't too friendly to the idea, but it became academic because the body voted overwhelmingly for the first named candidate, and the other two had too little vote to even be counted. In addition to these two old duffers there were on the third seat from the front at least two women, and I estimated there were, from the voting, probably seven or eight all told who were Dixiecrats, or maybe ten. They snapped at the chairman or at the floor leader on various motions, but actually they were not denied the right to nominate or denied the right to vote on any occasion. The trouble was that the darned liberals were so far in the majority that their voting wasn't worth anything. When the floor leader made a motion that the delegation that had been selected be instructed to vote for J. Edwin Smith at the county convention, the second old duffer got up and protested. Among his words he said that he thought that the minority's point of view ought to be represented. The colored preacher who had come in heard the word "minority," and he associated it with the minority race in America, to which he has been for a long time assigned, so he insisted upon getting the floor immediately after the old duffer finished. I kept stage whispering to him, "Let 'em vote, let 'em vote!" but he was determined to get that minority straight. So he got up and said that he was a member of the minority, but he wasn't opposed to the vote and wasn't objecting to it in any way, and he wanted that understood. Of course the word "minority" meant something different to each speaker. The white speaker meant that his States Rights group was in the

minority there at the meeting. The colored preacher thought he was talking about the minority race in America. I imagine some were tributions this year in greater proportion than last year, because the job grows increasingly bigger a four-sheet folder, entitled "An election is one of the first ways and important as we get freedom this year for the South." I believe going to convention for Negroes to begin to get them from segregation. Already there are some many opportunities that we can't fill because of lack of education, and if we are to meet these obligations tomorrow, we've got to train our boys and girls today. I believe going to convention for Negroes to begin to get them from segregation. Already there are some many opportunities that we can't fill because of lack of education, and if we are to meet these obligations tomorrow, we've got to train our boys and girls today. I believe going to convention for Negroes to begin to get them from segregation. Already there are some many opportunities that we can't fill because of lack of education, and if we are to meet these obligations tomorrow, we've got to train our boys and girls today.

COMMUNIST PROGRAM

THE UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND should receive contributions and things of small contractors and grocers.

Current Events

BY CARTER WESLEY

THE TIME TO PAY POLL TAX

is right now. Instead of putting a string around your finger, peel off the amount of the poll tax now and put it in a special pocket where you can't forget it. Brother, this year we will need poll tax payers as badly as a blind man needs eyes.

HE PROTESTS TOO MUCH

METHINKS — I've taken poetic license with Shakespeare as a lead for this comment, but C. W. Rice not only calls me a liar for saying that Neal Hilliard was the only Negro that supported Mayor Holcombe, who carried his precinct, but Mr Rice says that I lie always. If Mr Rice carried his precinct, it seems to me that the best answer would have been to have stated the facts. I still say that it is my information -- and I believe the information -- that Neal Hilliard is the only Negro, who supported the mayor, who carried his precinct. Let's look at the facts:

In the telephone directory C. W. Rice is listed at 409 Milam Street, which is his office; and the Negro Labor News is listed as 409 Milam Street and 405 West Dallas. This is under the word "Plant," meaning Mr Rice's printing plant. C. W. Rice individually is not listed in the telephone directory as to residence, being only listed as at 409 Milam, which everybody knows is his office. I don't believe you'll find the press section of Negroes in Houston who would believe that Mr Rice lives at his office or at his plant. Now then, does he claim a residence anywhere in the Fourth Ward? If so, where is it? Under the law a man is entitled to put his voting precinct at his residence and not at his place of business.

Now the question is, what did Mr Rice do to carry any precinct, whether it is the one in the Fourth Ward or anywhere else? Is it a fact that Neal Hilliard paid Mr Rice for articles and for extra copies of his paper in the interest of Mayor Holcombe's campaign? If Mr Hilliard paid for them, can Mr Rice claim that he contributed them? Does Mr Rice deny that Neal Hilliard spent his money to carry the precinct in the Fourth Ward? If Mr Hilliard did take the lead and do the work, and spend the money carrying the precinct, how can Mr

Rice take credit for it? Finally, I am not going to call Mr Rice a liar. I am not going to say he belong in the Ananias club, I'll let the people judge as to which one of us tells the truth most often. I am not in politics, and don't take part in political elections. Mr Rice is interested in politics, and he must expect fair comment upon his actions therein. I suggest, if he wants to settle the matter in the community, that he come down off the emotional plane and give the readers the facts.

THE DAYS ARE NUMBERED for paying your poll tax. When you say January 31, it seems a good distance away, but if you put off paying your poll tax, it will come and pass before you know it. All of the things you believe in will need your vote in 1956, so pay your poll tax NOW.

INSURANCE SCANDAL IS FRIGHTENING to most of the ordinary citizens of Texas. Negroes are particularly insecure. Unfortunately, only the companies that are small and hungry for business will take Negro insurance, for the most part. The result is that a great proportion of them is likely to be found in the companies that are in trouble. The only thing we know to suggest to the readers is, if they have multiple policies in one Texas company, that they cancel half or better of them and move them into other companies for safety's sake. Or if they have a large piece of property in one company, we suggest that they cancel a part of that policy and move the other part into a company that is out of the state, if possible. It will be necessary to take a little loss on cancellation, because the charge will be short-rated if one cancels, but it is cheaper to do that than it is to run the risk of having all of the insurance go down in a bad company, in the face of the wide-spread audits that are scheduled. On the matter of scandal on the part of the officials, first evidence would make one fear that some of the officials have been in collusion with rotten companies. But we ought not assume any officials involved until evidence comes out to show it. Where evidence shows indiscretion rather than actual guilt, we ought to withhold judgment until we can resolve the question so as to give each person what he is entitled to. When everybody is accusing everybody, it's a good time to listen.

SEGREGATION VS. LIBERTY is the basic struggle engaging the South today. Let us desert the particular and turn to the general or fundamental for a moment. Astute

NEGRO (CARTER WESLEY)

historians know and have said repeatedly that the distinguishing factor in America is the equalitarian creed, some call it democracy. But in counter-distinction to the caste system, or the system where there are various hierarchies of caste such as kings, nobles, lords, etc, or wealthy and exclusive aristocrats, in America the persisting concept is that all men are equal, regardless of money, and that there shall be no lords, kings, or other exalted people. The farmer, the trapper, the silversmith, the shoemaker, the baker, and all other men in the early days of America insisted that they were equal to anyone else. In the concept of the average man in America, the person who is elected President is exalted to the office because he is more equal than others, in the sense that he is a dyed-in-the-wool believer in the equality of all. Men have struggled to build empires of finance, of great property holdings, and in other ways that might set them up above their fellow man, but always in America the persistent idea of equality leveled them off sooner or later. The ideal of equality has persisted, and any attempt to create inequality has sooner or later had to yield to this principle. Segregation is based upon inequality. It has survived over a long period of years, because neither the courts, the churches, the press, or government officials, were ready individually or separately to assert equality in the area of segregation. Then in the period of the New Deal the question of segregation began to be discussed in connection with our ideal of equality. The ideal of equality has eaten away segregation like a potent chemical breaks down substances in test tubes. Victor Hugo said in his "Les Miserables" that Napoleon was not beaten by Wellington and Blucher on the battlefield of Waterloo, but Napoleon lost because he had grown so big he embarrassed God. In that sense segregation will not be beaten by any faction or factors, it will lose because it embarrasses our ideal of democracy. The fundamental tenet of our Protestant religions has been, from the beginning in this country, that we are all brothers and equal before God. Though the churches have in many instances, and over a long period of time, closed their eyes to segregation in the South, they have nonetheless gone on asserting and believing in the equality of men and in the brotherhood of men. Now that the church is confronted with the problem of segregation, there is no way to reconcile it with the Christian principle of brotherhood and equality

before God.

As the result of these ideals in our political concept and in our religious concept, segregation finds itself confronting all that we live by and believe in. It has been the beneficiary for a number of years of the philosophy of letting 'sleeping dogs lie.' But now that the "sleeping dog" has become an active and desperate foe of democracy and of Christianity, segregation, like all the other things that have been in opposition to equality and Christianity, "is foredoomed." The position of segregation reminds me of the position of Germany in the last couple of years of World War II. It was caught between Russia on the East and the Allies on the West and subjected to a relentless pressure from both ends. Segregation is caught between the principles of Christianity on the one side, and of democracy on the other, and it, too, is being subjected to relentless pressure on both sides. The supreme general in the last World War would not say when the war would end, neither would President Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, or any of his generals. I won't try to say when the last vestige of segregation will disappear and the battle will be won by surrender, but I will point out that the forces of segregation have already been reduced to such an extent that they could never build back again, even if the war were to stop today.

We make these observations primarily for those of our people who may get so concerned with a particular incident or new outburst on the part of the segregationists that they lose sight of the perspective and cease to remember that the gains of liberty up to date have made it certain that the victory will be ours. Also, it is well here to point out that Negroes are incidentally symbols and the victims of segregation, but the battle is really for the ideals of liberty and Christianity. When the last vestiges of segregation, which are so brazenly and iniquitously raised against Negroes, shall have fallen, Negroes must remember that the fight against discrimination must go on to free other peoples from the lesser embarrassments that they suffer. Though today we are fighting primarily for ourselves, we are enlisted in the cause of liberty and civil rights against any form of abuse of those rights as long as such abuses exist. Freedom from the restraints of segregation will only release us for bigger efforts and harder efforts against the handmaids of segregation, which are discrimination, suppression, smear and abuse of civil liberties.

Current Events

BY CARTER WESLEY

DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY

— In the last week's edition we discussed the American ideal of equality, or democracy. Here we'd like to discuss briefly the application of the ideal of democracy to our domestic and our foreign policy. Generally it may be said that the Executive branch of our government, which is primarily concerned with policy, has committed itself to the establishment of equality among citizens. An acceptable job has been done by the Executive branch of our government in the Armed forces, in the matter of contract enforcements for equality of employment, and generally in support of cases that have come up to the Supreme Court. The Judicial branch of the government has consistently, in the last year or so, struck straight for equality and against inequality and discrimination. The lag in the domestic policy comes primarily from the Legislative branch of our government, which has stubbornly refused to move. Generally in the churches, the higher organizations in the respective denominations have embraced the policy of equality, and have spoken out against segregation and discrimination. Labor at the top level has committed itself to equality and against segregation. So on the domestic policy, we need not get ourselves exercised or disturbed.

BUT ON THE FOREIGN POLICY

, our Executive branch, headed by the President and the Secretary of State, has not followed the clear course of commitment to equality. The foreign policy of America has gotten itself entangled with impulses of political expediency. In the Indo-China scrap our foreign policy concerned itself more with "saving France" and its influence in that area than it did with applying the ideals of democracy. The result was that America won a reputation in the area of being pro-colonial rather than in favor of the exploited people. We have shied away from expressing our ideals in connection with the scrap between the Dutch and the Indonesians, because we were afraid of offending the Dutch. We have wavered in the contest between Egypt and England, because we have let

our traditional alliance with the fact that we have not adopted a British compromise our judgment firm policy in consonance with our and our will to express the things principles of democracy. we believe in and stand for as a nation in that struggle.

WE HAVE FAILED miserably to exert our influence in the UN for right in the struggle between the Israeli on the one hand, and the Egyptians, Syrians, etc, on the other. Today in the struggle of the people of Cyprus for their freedom and their right to join with Greece, we are compromised between our loyalty to England and Turkey and what we know as our ideals. These and many other instances show that we have not had a fundamental policy that we have applied in our foreign relations. I believe if America had taken a firm stand in favor of democracy and fairness in Indo-China, much bloodshed would have been saved and France would have sooner come to terms in that area, before both it and the Indo-Chinese had lost thousands of people and bloodshed, plus the destruction of property. If we could bring ourselves to declare our policy for democracy and equality, and then stick to it, other nations would heed us, both because of the rightness of our policy and because of our great strength.

A CLASSIC EXAMPLE of the type of plight we get ourselves into by wavering is shown by our predicament between the Communist Chinese and Chiang-Kai-shek. Chiang-Kai-shek and his government are corrupt and always have been. The Communist Chinese are cruel, scheming and unreliable, and always will be. But because of lack of policy on our part, we are caught in the middle between these two corrupt forces in an impossible situation. The lodestone that pulls us off the course here is the fact that we cannot afford to yield Formosa to the Communist Chinese without breaking our line of defense. China is a tough one for our foreign policy. We probably aren't going to change our attitude toward Communist China any time soon. But we can't maintain our position for Formosa, China, because it is really not tenable, and it could stop murders and the sooner or later we are going to have to give up on it. Well, with a policy that is firm and definite, we would long since have worked out the ending of lynchings. Our paper a plan by which we could make our position of insistence, that Formosa not be gobbled up by Communist China, consistent. Of the two evils, at them and see who comes off we will probably have to choose to better.

say that communists will not be permitted to take Southern Korea or Formosa. As it is now, we keep pussyfooting with an equivocal statement today, a firm one tomorrow, and then another equivocal statement and the like. All of it goes back to the

fact that we have not adopted a firm policy in consonance with our principles of democracy.

J EDGAR HOOVER GETS BURN-

ED, playing with fire in the person of Dr T R M Howard. Mr Hoover took umbrage at Dr Howard's statement that the FBI's investigations in the South never result in convictions or trials. Mr Hoover answered this by saying the FBI made investigations and turned them over to the Department of Justice, this is no answer to the fact that it gets no convictions. Mr Hoover, not too subtly, threatened Dr Howard for criticizing the FBI agents. Does the constitutional

guarantee of freedom of expression give the FBI some strange immunity? If Dr Howard's statement, regarding the ineffectiveness of FBI investigation in the South of racial issues, is treason, then Mr Hoover should get himself a whole train of empty cars to haul Negro culprits in the South along with Dr Howard; for there is a great number of Negroes who believe the same thing Dr Howard said. What's more, the governor of Mississippi or Alabama said worse things about the FBI and even threatened the FBI, doesn't Mr Hoover raise the devil on that? Mr Hoover himself has been criticized worse by senators and congressmen right here in Washington. But to throw salt in the cuts he'd made, Dr Howard cites the fact that he sent a telegram requesting an interview with the Justice Department on the very question that Mr Hoover is ranting about. Mr Hoover has suggested that Dr Howard should have brought the matter to the FBI, and that's what makes Dr Howard's telegram important. It seems that Mr Hoover, who is supposed to be a master of facts, is remiss in not knowing of the telegram in his own department. Mr Hoover made the unfortunate mistake of claiming that the FBI had stopped lynching in the South. Dr Howard pointed out to him that there was no anti-lynching law under which the FBI could work, and if it could stop lynchings without such a law, then it could stop murders and the lynchings that have gone on recently. But Dr Howard also pointed out that the FBI had had no part in the ending of lynchings. Our paper is carrying Mr Hoover's letter and Dr Howard's answer in this week's issue, we invite the readers to look at them and see who comes off better.

NO COERCION, PLEASE, is what we say to the mayor and his supporters. The submission of bonds to a purely political matter tomorrow, and then against it, just as anyone has a right to be for it.

Calling individuals, who are supposed to be against the bonds, to the mayor's office, smacks of overreaching in our view. I was for Mayor Hofheinz's move to increase the taxes, in order to get \$20 million for expansion. I haven't found yet any reason to oppose the bond issue for \$20 million to get money for the same purpose, but if I should elect to go against the bonds, I certainly would resent having the mayor call me down to his office to challenge me on my position. Let's play the game as hard as we like, but keep the rules straight.

ATLANTA IS TOPS in enterprise and success, from the standpoint of Negro leadership. L D Milton, C R Yates and John Wesley Dobbs tell us that Negroes control businesses with assets of better than \$60 million. These businesses are the Atlanta Life, with over \$38 million in assets; the Citizens Trust, with \$7 million; the Building and Loan Association, with \$10 million, and Atlanta University with \$15 million. This doesn't include the some 30-odd drug stores owned by Milton and Yates as partners; a well-established plumbing company; the Akin Construction Company, and a number of other businesses that we saw as we were carried through the business area on Auburn. John Wesley Dobbs calls Auburn "Sweet Auburn," because it is sweetened with so many assets. They point out that these businesses are not pyramided, but they are separately owned and not linked one on the other, so that one could pull down all. It was also pointed out that Atlanta has the only Negro-owned and-operated post office in America. There are other Negro operated post offices, but they are not owned from building on through as this one is.

ATLANTA EXCELS IN HOUSING, having more houses that are built and owned by Negroes than any other city in America. I got a chance to see some of the housing projects too, and they are well-built, well kept and well appointed. Heretofore we have thought of Durham, North Carolina, as the business center for Negroes in America, but I think the challenge that is being put up by Atlanta makes it necessary for all of us to revalue the two cities.

THE PUBLISHERS' WORKSHOP was the occasion of my being in Atlanta over the week-end. We took up the theory of some whites: that Negro papers are on the way out, as symbolized by the Time article of a month or so ago. We had John H Johnson of Ebony and Jet magazines, who had been praised by Time against Negro papers. Mr Johnson was the first to say that

any attack upon the Negro press was an attack upon Negro magazines as well, and that he did not agree with Time's conclusion or its deductions. It was the consensus of opinion of the publishers, including the representative of the magazines, that the Negro press and magazines were not on their way out but had a large service for an indefinite period in American history. On the positive side the Chicago Defender will go to a daily in the month of February, making us have two full-fledged dailies in America. Facts show that circulations are increasing since the drop after the war years. Mr Johnson pointed out that the Negro paper is the most dominant force in America, and that it is still the only medium by which advertisers can reach the burgeoning Negro market. Mr Milton, Mr Yates and John Wesley Dobbs paid special tribute to the yeomanly work that Negro papers have done in keeping their race conscious of their rights, and in fighting to win those rights for the race. The editors of Time magazine will probably be disappointed to hear that there were no crepe hangers among the publishers, and that the plans and work were all on the constructive side and looking toward further expansion.

Current Events

By CARTER WESLEY
Houston, Tex.
"HOW TO WIN IN '56" is the

theme around which the Progressive Voters League is holding workshops and convention meetings to tell the delegates how to go back and organize to get the vote out. Negroes who are organizing to go into the Democratic party directly, under Attorney Durham, are having instructors come directly from the Democratic party to conduct classes in organizations of blacks and precincts. Since the Dixiecrats have done it before, it is assumed that they are busily doing the same thing again this year on their side.

THE SOUTHERN MANIFESTO of 100 Congressmen, as pointed out by Max Lerner, had the virtue of letting us see that the South has nothing with which it can really upset the Supreme Court's educational decision. Every one of the arguments in the manifesto was presented to the Supreme

Court during the argument in the education cases, the court considered those arguments and unanimously brushed them aside. As we've suggested before, since the only thing that the crackpots can fall back on is violence, you can expect violence to occur in some of the Southern states.

CRISWELL TALKS TOO MUCH, and the more he talks the worse he gets. Last week in explaining what he meant four or five weeks ago in South Carolina, when he talked about "infidels and dirty shirts who are dead from the neck up," he said, "Segregation is just natural, ducks live only with other ducks, geese with other geese, etc." He could have added, and horses live with horses, mules with mules, dogs with dogs. But that is beside the point. Ducks are white and black, so are the dogs, and so are the horses and mules. I'm beginning to think that Dr Criswell is an ignorant man.

SAN ANTONIO LEADS AGAIN by taking steps to open its pools and all other public-supported facilities. The council instructed the city attorney last week to draw up an ordinance, repealing a 1954 ordinance providing for separation in swimming pools. There is a hearing scheduled for April on a petition by Negroes to open the swimming pools. The 1954 ordinance provided nine swimming pools for whites and two for Negroes. San Antonio is taking the lead in Texas, among the larger cities, freeing itself from segregation in public facilities.

NO CONSOLATION THERE for the South in the President's statement that the South has been segregated rightfully under the Supreme Court's decision of 1896. The South never has been rightfully segregated, because it never did provide equal facilities in any instance of segregation. We challenge the editors who are trying to take consolation out of this statement of the President to point out one thing, that was segregated, that was equal. Without equality, segregation has never been legal under the law, for the law conditions the right to separate on the basis of providing equality in this separation.

NO EFFECTIVE 3RD PARTY

looks for 1956 campaign. Some the 1956 campaign, and that we Southern extremists have suggested may forget. Anybody who attempts the possibility of a third party, a third party will be ridiculously New Congressman Adam Clayton Powell comes out with the suggestion. When the CIO and the AFL united, there were some people who predicted that they would present a third party. It just isn't in the power for any group to furnish an effective third party in

Current Events

By CARTER WESLEY

CATCHING CRAWFISH were two little 7-year-old boys this morning as I came out Wallisville Road to town. Hopping about over the ditch, they were seriously engaged in trying to outdo a wily crawfish. They never saw me as I passed, and they wouldn't have heard a firecracker. (Incidentally, ask man or boy in Texas or Louisiana what the hard-shelled thing is that can back up faster in a ditch or a duck pond than he can go forward, and one and all they will tell you he's a crawfish, and not "crayfish," such as the effete of the North call that tricky imp.)

"INTERPOSITION" IS NULLIFICATION, where headstrong rebels are waiting on the brink, trying to see if they can test out whether it is safe to take the final leap over. In the three or four times that interposition has been mentioned in the past, it has always been abandoned short of actually challenging the federal authority, except on the one occasion which brought on the Civil War. Some of the descendants of the South did not pay attention to their grandparents when they told them they lost the Civil War in the attempt to nullify the Constitution.

WE FEAR IT IS RIGGING THE DECK against Negroes in its much-heralded plan to select students for the University system in the future on the basis of educational fitness, etc. Each application card being sent out requires the applicant to show whether he or she is "white or colored." Now since all the students are citizens of Texas, and it's only a question of selecting the best students, why is race important? If race has any importance at all, why then aren't Latin-Americans required to set out their race? Why aren't other foreigners, who have become naturalized citizens, required to set out their race and origin? They are using what the courts refer to often as "a sophisticated scheme of discrimination."

tion." Frankly, we respect the Citizens Councils more than we do those who pull sheep's clothing over their wolfish hides and intents. We have had for years to struggle with race on civil service blanks, we know how damnable it can be in the hands of white administrators. So it seems that the fine declaration of the University authorities last year was nothing except a Trojan horse.

QUERY ON SHOOTING STUDENTS: If a male student at PV is caught in a building adjoining the girls' dormitory, with no excuse for being there, runs when the night watchman comes and refuses to halt on order, is the watchman justified in shooting the fleeing student? I don't think the watchman should be permitted to shoot a student under those circumstances. Suppose, for instance, the watchman killed the student, would anybody say he was justified in doing it, since the student was going away from him and was not carrying any property belonging to the school? On the facts in the case, I side with the watchman up to the place where he shot the student, what do you think?

CO-EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS TODAY are far different from what they were when I went to college from 1914-17. Then the contact was limited socially to calling on the girl from 4:00 to 6:00 on stated evenings, and with permission and in a parlor with other couples; and "coming out" with girls on Friday by going to the dormitory, walking with a girl to chapel, sitting with her, walking her back to the dormitory at night along the path with all the other students. Today I go to my college and have to pinch myself when I see the freedom that is allowed between the sexes on campus and off campus. It's the same at most modern campuses today. I have the impression that Prairie View is still trying to enforce the pattern of 1917. The theory today is that colleges teach kids and are not jailers; that kids come out of decent homes and are decent people; that particularly juniors and seniors ought to know how to behave with boys, because if they don't they won't know when they get out in life. Strange as it may seem, there are no more girls in dormitories coming up pregnant

Negro (Carter Wesley)

today, under the more liberal policy, than there were in my day under the rigid policy.

WRONG END OF HANDLE is what my mother would say of the attempt of San Antonio to successfully protest the exclusion of Negroes from the private ball of the Police Association there. The dance or ball was undoubtedly a private matter and not sponsored by the Police Department. A private group can invite or exclude whom they please. San Antonio citizens should have attacked the problem from the other end, by questioning the right of the private group to operate under the name of the San Antonio Police Association. If they are private, make them get out from under city paraphernalia and names in their private balls. If the city of San Antonio, by any of its departments, in any way authenticates the ball, it, of course, no longer remains private. But if a private group has to get permission from the Police Department to use the name, then there is such action on the part of San Antonio as would amount to adoption of the private group by the city of San Antonio.

CONTRAST TENNESSEE AND TEXAS, where the Tennessee governor turned down the "red-necks" who asked him to support segregation, while the Texas governor voluntarily sent for data on the four governors' meeting to defy the Supreme Court in order to continue segregation.

WORSE THAN HITLER'S GERMANY is Mississippi, right now. Everybody remembers the desperate times when Jewish people and anti-Nazi were killed, imprisoned and mutilated, if they did not succeed in slipping out before the S S troops or secret police came. Papers aren't sending out the news, but those who are in contact know that Negroes are suffering the same thing. Last week's Jackson Advocate carried a story to the effect that leaders of the Regional Council of Negroes had decided to abandon their fight for civil rights in Mississippi. Thoughtless people down South, and the secure ones up North, will scorn these leaders who have given up fighting for

civil rights. What did you expect the Jew to do in Germany during Hitler's time? What do you think a Negro leader can do fighting for civil rights in Mississippi today? It's a reflection upon the Christians that they are supporting such a condition in Mississippi, and a reflection upon our federal government that it sits supinely by and lets citizens be murdered, pilloried and crucified the way they are in Mississippi today.

THE PRESBYTERIANS SPEAK in accents loud and clear as to their attitude about desegregation generally, when they elect Rev. J. H. Boyce as their moderator, the first Negro to hold the office in the history of the presbytery. The Rev. Boyce merits the office on the basis of the service that he has given to his community and church, and on the basis of his experience and long service in this presbytery. It just happened that the ministers in this presbytery were emancipated sufficiently to elect him despite the fact that he was colored.

THE McASHAN-CLAYTON MON- EY, donated to TSU during the last months of administration of President R O'Hara Lanier, was reported last week to have been returned, at the request of the donees to the amount of \$15,000. According to our informant, \$30,000 was the amount intended to have been given, \$15,000 of it was paid, subsequently the donees indicated that they did not care to give the rest of the money and would like to have a refund of the \$15,000 paid. This was returned without public announcement. The McAshan-Clayton interests were always friendly with Dr Lanier, and had a lot of confidence in his leadership. It is assumed that they, like many others of us, did not appreciate the brutal manner in which Dr Lanier was severed from the school. The manner suggests a butcher killing a hog in a living room of a mixed audience of refined people. A different picture would say that literally murdering a lamb on a stage, in a show that depicts the fact that the lamb was killed, isn't the kind of thing that is done today.

THE U. S. SCHOOL AID BILL now pending in Congress, is causing considerable debate inside and out of Congress. A sincere and honest white friend told me last week that he did not agree that Adam Clayton Powell should attach his amendment to the bill, providing

that district and counties that defy the Supreme Court's decision should not get the money, but that it should be held in escrow and if they repent in three years it then should be paid to them. This white friend is not a crackpot and seriously thinks that giving the money to the schools is so important that nothing should be done to kill it. He is interested in expanding schools, and I can see why he could take the position that he does. On the other hand, it seems to me it would be a shortsighted course to take. The Supreme Court says under the Constitution segregation on the basis of color is illegal. Several Southern states have said that they will not follow the law as interpreted by the Supreme Court. Now our government is based upon the Judicial, the Legislative and the Executive branches. It seems to me that for the Legislature to pass a law, giving money to states that have openly and publicly defied the Supreme Court's ruling, puts it in an intolerable position. My friend's position is that we should embrace expediency at the sacrifice of principle. As to the schools' suffering, these defiant states now say that they will close the schools rather than follow the law, they are willing to kill their schools in order to remain lawless. But they have no right to expect the Legislature, and the rest of the citizenry, to become lawless and to act in defiance of the Supreme Court, in order to let them run their schools illegally. It shows how the nation has evaded, dodged and condoned the discrimination that is involved in segregation. It is a weak desire to postpone the issue, and to put off the inevitable.

Current Events

By CARTER WESLEY

THE WORLD GOES ON despite our obsession with the desegregation issue. Babies are born, people are dying, and most of us are compelled to do our ordinary chores during the day. It may be assumed that the desegregation crisis will pass, too.

THE LUCY PARENTS, MIS-QUOTED, have come back with a denial of much that was carried in the alleged interview with them, saying that the writers put words in their mouths. The parents say they did not know they were talking to a newspaper man, that they never intended to indicate their lack of condoning their daughter, and that words were actually put in their mouths.

COLD COSTS EACH YEAR IN AMERICA are \$5 billion, through loss of wages and medical expenses.

COMPETITION FOR ENGINEERS is terrific. This year about 5000 firms will be bidding for 23,000 engineers. That's less than an average of five engineers per employer, and some employers need as many as 1000.

MORGAN vs. DURHAM might well symbolize an issue that is bedeviling Negro leadership today. The question is, shall Negroes dissolve the organizations that they have worked through during these years of segregation, now as fast as avenues are opened to them in which these particular organizations have been used? For instance, H M Morgan is head of the Progressive Voters League, used as a rallying point when Negroes were not eligible for membership in the orthodox political parties, and during the recent years when though eligible they have not been admitted to any large extent. Mr Durham is now leading a group to have Negroes make contributions both of their money and their time, directly to and in the Democratic organization, and he insists that there is no further need for separate organizations such as the Progressive Voters League. In some instances Negroes have dissolved their private organizations,

witness the national organization of nurses, etc. We here at the paper have not yet become convinced that Negroes should dissolve the private organizations that they have, when white organizations in the particular field open. The fact that one fights against involuntary and enforced separation, as a badge of inferiority, doesn't mean that one renounces the right to choose separation voluntarily for special purposes. The inhibition in the law against separation on account of race is against the states' arbitrarily and forcefully separating or pushing Negroes out. There is no injunction against individuals or groups of individuals setting themselves up separately to do private things and to do special things that they want done, as long as they are not using state machinery. I do not think the NAACP should even think of dissolving, and everybody knows that it is primarily a Negro institution. I think the nurses erred when they dissolved; there are many, many problems that need solution and can only be dissolved by the united strength of the Negroes in organization and behind a purpose and plan. The reader knows by now that it is my thought that the real clash between Messrs. Durham and Morgan is whether each of them is willing to be tolerant of with his particular movement. I certainly have no quarrel with Durham's attempting to get us integrated into the Democratic party. That's what we have all been trying to do for years. But I am not unmindful of the fact that the Democratic party is opening up very slowly, particularly as to letting Negroes into jobs and into any place of policy-making or real leadership. To keep pressure going, organizations such as Morgan's are certainly needed; and, properly used, supplement or even complement the work of Durham or anybody else who is trying the direct method.

THE SOUTH'S DEMAGOGUES ARE HURTING the present and future of the South very seriously. As the Southern Regional Council points out, industrialists are not going to build big plants in areas that are defying the Supreme Court and the law; neither are the people in bonding companies going to buy the bonds of companies that are torn with strife and dissension in an effort to defeat the law; talent needed, such as teachers, scientists, professional men, etc., is not going to go into strife-torn areas.

Some of these leaders brag that they are delaying integration. The people will soon begin to note that they also are preventing the South from getting any educational money from the government to increase its school facilities. The germ of defeat is embedded in the movement itself, because it promises no profit and all loss.

IGNORANT, AND GOING TO STAY SO might be the way the Citizens League and the Minute Women, who walked out of the school board meeting Monday night a week ago, after they had had their turn, could describe themselves. They did not want to stay and expose themselves to the possibility of learning some facts that might explode their erroneous statements, and might even persuade them to stop being foolish. They had not read anything before, and they were not going to be trapped into staying and possibly hearing some intelligence then. At least they are consistent as the know-nothing group.

MAYOR HOLCOMBE IS CONSISTENT, if he is nothing else. The one time I supported the mayor was the time he had been out of office and was making his comeback, that was the last time he was in before now. A group of about five of us went in to talk to him about the things that Negroes needed and wanted, and about the possibility of supporting him. His remark was that Negroes had not been voting before and that, of course, in politics you supplied streets, lights, etc., to people who voted. But, he added, now that Negroes are voting they would come in for their share. But he ran his term and never did anything substantial to improve the sections where Negroes lived. Since he has been in office this time another group, composed of Roscoe Cavitt, C W Rice, G A Kennedy, Dr E B Perry and L H Spivey went up to talk about Negroes' prospects. He told them he was not going to run any more, as an indication that he could do as he pleased. Then he told them that Negroes did not vote for him, meaning that he owed them nothing. When they asked him about specific things, he told them he was not making any promises, but if he found that he could conveniently do something, he might. In fairness it can be assumed that those people in the underworld who supported him may be let alone; R R Grovey will probably get to use the

Emancipation Park to promote fairs, projects, etc., where collections are taken, but so far as the common run of people who voted for him, there doesn't seem much prospect that they did any good for themselves or for their race.

CITIZENS LEAGUE, IS IT A KLAN? The truth is that it is a conglomerate of a lot of emotional, foolish people of different grades of belief and demagoguery. But it includes the Klan element, which is almost certain to get control. The Citizens League and the Minute Women will have to take responsibility for the culprits that placed a 6-foot burning cross on W W Whitson's lawn, after Mrs Whitson had spoken on behalf of the American Friends in favor of integration.

CONGRESSMAN W L MARTIN of Alabama said the other day that the time has come when white Alabamans must either move out of the state, stay and suffer humiliation, or pick up their shotguns. Violence always follows lawless and irresponsible public display.

ADLAI STEVENSON'S STRADDLING OPINIONS still add up to his wanting to do nothing to correct the evil. He wants to let time heal the sore. The trouble with gradualism is that the Negro has the burr that is under the saddle eating into his back, while men like Adlai Stevenson are only talking and rationalizing about that burr and its pain. The children that were in the five cases before the Supreme Court are denied their rights and are getting poor education, and all the kids in the same class are, how long should they be denied redress of their rights? According to Mr Stevenson, 50 years if the whites want to rebel that long.

THE SAN FELIPE COURTS can serve as another example of dragging out of injustices. There are probably 1000 applications registered now at Cuney Homes and Kelly Courts, which cannot be filled because of lack of vacancies in the two places. On the other hand, did not vote for him, meaning there are probably 350 or better that he owed them nothing. When they asked him about specific things, he told them he was not making any promises, but if he found that he could conveniently do something, he might. In fairness it can be assumed that those people in the underworld who supported him may be let alone; R R Grovey will probably get to use the

We suggest that Negroes begin to write to Mr Albert Cole, who is in charge of Public Housing at Washington, D C. It will be well not only for those who are waiting for entrance in a housing project to write, but for all the citizens who pay taxes to write to Mr Cole in regard to this matter, whether they be white or colored.

DAC TO SHUN NEGROES? According to Van Pell Evans, who says he talked with Attorney Tom Moore, chairman of the executive committee of DAC, he got the impression that DAC would shy away from any connection with Negroes "because of the interposition factor, and to avoid possible attack from Governor Shivers on the issue." Whites have been running away from Negro association ever since I can remember. But until Negroes are frankly and openly accepted as a part of the respective parties, in Texas, how will they be able to share in the offices and in the policymaking?

Current Events

By CARTER WESLEY

COLLEGE TRUSTEE FUNCTIONS.

The Methodist church gets out a quarterly "Trustee" in which it discusses the functions and obligations of a member of a board of directors, regent, overseer, or whatever you choose to call the trustee of an institution. Readers will remember that I have said over and over that the trustees of some of our local institutions do not realize the difference between policy making and the administration of the policy after it is made. I quote from the October 1955 issue of "Trustee":

"To discharge this responsibility (that of being a trustee) effectively, trustees must understand the limits of their authority and the distinction between the functions which they should delegate to administrative officers of the college. Some of the serious problems at this level arise from the failure of boards of trustees or individual members of a board to differentiate between policy making, which is properly a board function, and the performance of administrative functions in accordance with board policies. It is not necessary to cite many illustrations of this point. Boards of trustees have been known to serve as purchasing agents for colleges, to issue directives for the dismissal of faculty members, to give private audiences to faculty members or students without the knowledge of the administration, to appoint administrative officers without the recommendation or concurrence of the president."

"The principle that is not clearly recognized in such situations is that the board of trustees is a policy-making body and that administrative matters should be delegated to the president whom they select, and through him to his staff officers."

"What steps can be taken to prevent these situations from arising? First, the board should have a clearly formulated statement of its powers and functions. Such

statement should be available to signature a letter, saying that his duty only is to see that the funds are spent as the Legislature provides, and he cannot do anything about extraneous matters that are not covered in legislation. He further shows that this is the general policy by citing a letter from the general counsel of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, in which he says unless the Congress clearly indicates in this act that funds are to be withheld from institutions that refuse to admit Negroes, they are powerless to do anything about it. The attorney general has indicated that he has no authority even to go into local situations to check on actual crimes, let alone the refusal of children the right to enter schools. The President has refused to say that he will use his influence to keep funds from going to the school boards or districts that refuse to honor the Supreme Court's decision. In view of that fact, Congressman Powell points out that he had no alternative except to attach the amendment to the current Kelly bill on aid to schools. He cites the Supreme Court's clear decision that federal, state and local laws in conflict with its ruling against segregation must yield. He says the Congress itself would be ignoring that if it failed to provide that those who get the funds must respect the Supreme Court's decision. Summed up: Congressman Powell is saying that if the federal government will take responsibility to see to it that the funds do not go to any school board or district that defies the Supreme Court, his amendment will not be necessary. But as long as the people who must administer the funds say they have no authority to withhold them from the districts and boards that refuse to follow the

THE TROUBLE AT ALABAMA

U is disturbing a number of people. But it is well to remember that in Bedford, Delaware, they forced about 10 kids out of a high school, but they are back now. In Hoxie, Arkansas, they forced schools to close because they had integrated, they are open and integrated now. Rioters forced Negroes out of the swimming pools in St. Louis, when they were first opened, but the Negroes are back now. Rioters interfered with integration in Washington, D. C., but integration is going on there now on a large scale, the same as it is in Baltimore where rioters interfered. The breach of the bar against Negroes at Alabama University is broken and rioting can't mend the bar and put it up again. Either Miss Lucy or some other Negro will attend Alabama University.

DENYING SCHOOL FUNDS

to school boards and districts that insist upon defying the Supreme Court's desegregation decision is causing considerable discussion in the national press, and is likely to engender a heated debate in the House of Representatives. Congressman Adam Clayton Powell presented his reasons for insisting upon the amendment to bar the funds to those school districts that insisted upon defying the Supreme Court, last week in a most direct, simple and effective manner. He pointed out that the controller general, who handles funds, has sent over his

effect. A number of friends have told this writer that they thought the Powell amendment should not be adopted. I have not yet seen one that gave an answer to the actual conditions that exist.

A CONTRAST IN ACTION

is shown in the difference between the reaction of North Carolina University to the admission of three Negroes and of Alabama University to the admission of one Negro woman. North Carolina ac-

(NEGRO) CARTER WESLEY

cepted them in stride and there has never been any problem at all. Alabama is so insecure of itself that it could not accept one Negro woman, who is well-behaved, as a student.

NEGRO TEACHERS' PAY is being discussed these days. One paper points out that Texas spends \$27 million annually for Negro teachers and administrators' pay. The writer goes on to say that the North spends far less than that for Negro teachers and administrators' pay. There are a million Negroes in Texas with a corresponding number of children of school population, how many are there in Maine, New York, Rhode Island, or Illinois, if you please? What does Mississippi pay its Negro teachers as compared to whites? How many more Negro school classes are overcrowded than are white, therefore, making Negro teachers do twice as much work for the pay they get?

DON'T WORRY ABOUT THE RIOTS, worry about the Christians who are failing to acknowledge their moral obligations, and who are denying Christ and what He teaches.

JACKALS STILL HOWL for Heard's blood. Police Chief Jack Heard has been the victim of an anti-Catholic and anti-Heard smear by slinking coyotes, who put out a false Knights of Columbus oath in the police department, to make it appear that Chief Heard did it because he is a Catholic. How low can men get?

IT WAS TRICKY DISTRIBUTION that caught Lionel Collins Saturday as he and T. D. Allen played Dr. T. A. Fletcher and me. Mr. Collins, sitting East, opened with one no trump. Sitting South with five hearts, ace, 10 high; five diamonds, ace, king, jack high; three clubs, queen high. I bid two hearts. Mr. Allen, sitting West, passed. Dr. Fletcher, sitting North with five hearts, jack high; five spades, king, queen, jack, 10 x, and 3 x's in clubs, bid two spades. I think Mr. Collins had bid two no trumps, anyway. I bid three diamonds. Dr. Fletcher responded three hearts and I bid four. All passed around to Mr. Collins and he doubled. I hesitated, but decided that it was a freak hand and I might come a cropper, so I did not redouble. Dr. Fletcher stopped

and checked the bidding and redoubled. The defendant led spades and the ace was played, mind you. I don't have a spade in my hand, so I cut the ace. With ten in the two hands I decide not to finesse and lay down my heart ace, feeling certain that I would pick up one of the top honors. But Mr. Allen didn't have a heart and Mr. Collins had three, king, queen, x, and I set up two sure trump tricks when I laid down the ace. I pulled trumps again and left Mr. Collins with the queen in his hand. I laid out my ace, king of diamonds and cut a diamond in dummy to get to spades. Then I began to feed spades through, waiting for Mr. Collins to cut when he got ready. He had three spades so I threw away my three clubs on the spades. Then he cut the fifth spade and laid down the club ace, which I cut from my hand. That was all she wrote, with my getting four and one over, doubled and redoubled. It was the second rubber, so we got 700 rubber, 480 below the line, 400 above the line, and that broke up the game! When the bidding suggests the possibility of freak hands, it's always dangerous to double.

LIKE THE DOG THAT CHASES ITS TAIL, the Citizens Councils and Leagues, and all of the pro-segregationists are running around in circles. First, the United States Supreme Court's decisions "did not affect the Texas law." Next, there was the Pepper-and-Salt plan. Then there was interposition. Next, they were going to get the Congress to pass a statute nullifying the Supreme Court's desegregation decision. Why don't Negroes detach themselves from the ranting of these people and sit in the grand stand and watch their antics, as they run around bonelessly in circles? Take it easy, the pro-segregationists haven't won a battle yet.

Current Events

By CARTER WESLEY

TORTUROUS CHOICE IS MADE—after a thousand worries and studies I finally decided that I'd give up smoking during Lent. The

race was between giving up smoking and bridge. I finally decided on the base of which was the most difficult, and smoking was the most difficult to give up so I took that one.

CONTRAST AGAIN APPEARS

in the fact that North Texas State College accepted Mrs I. E. Sephas of Fort Worth without a ripple, at the same time the University of Alabama was ripping and snorting over acceptance of Miss Autherine Lucy. Incidentally, San Antonio school authorities made a report on integration there, and said that it has gone on beautifully without a social ruckus of any kind.

ATTEND YOUR PRECINCT CONVENTION

, if you want your vote to really count for something in this year. The real fight in Texas will lie in the May precinct convention. Don't assume that you are a minority and can do nothing, you are likely to be surprised when you get there that there are others who, with your help, will be able to prevent the convention's being perverted to evil purposes.

IS IT A GAUGE on how long it will take for the South to accept integration in the public schools, to note that it took about five years in Texas for the idea of integration on the graduate level to seep through? With September of 1956 practically every one of our public higher education schools will be integrated, including the University of Texas and TSU, I am referring here to the undergraduate level of the schools. The Supreme Court handed down its decision in the Sweatt, Sipuel and MacLaurin cases in June of 1950. There was the usual defiant talk and threats after the June 1950 decision, but today the graduate schools are open and there is no battle and no incident on it. How far will we be toward integration in the public schools at the end of five years? Personally, I feel we will be well along, even if we have not finished integration.

How far will we be toward integration in the public schools at the end of five years? Personally, I feel we will be well along, even if we have not finished integration.

STULTIFYING LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES — The officials of Montgomery now plan to interfere with the rights of Negroes and are using their official connections and their official officers to intimidate and threaten Negroes. Now they are going to indict Negroes who are refusing to ride buses. It is fundamental to our democra-

cy that a man can ride a bus or not ride a bus, if he sees fit. The city authorities have recognized this heretofore in Montgomery by treating with the Negroes on the question of their giving up their boycott.

NAACP INTERNAL SQUABBLES serve to keep the scene enlivened. In Los Angeles a branch official has been challenged over spending money without authorization and being challenged on the grounds that no proper reports are made of the money collected. Haven't we had those same charges made here in Texas of the NAACP? Current-ly in Texas a fight that has reached the state level has been over the question of whether there shall be one branch for both Fort Bend and Wharton counties, or whether there shall be two branches — one for Fort Bend and one for Wharton county. Chief antagonists in this fight were Mrs Lulu White of Houston, membership chairman, and Willie Melton of Fort Bend county, chairman of the original chapter that served both Fort Bend and Wharton counties. Melton wanted the one branch to serve both counties. Mrs White was supporting those who wanted a separate branch for Wharton. At first the sentiment of the officials seemed to have been in favor of Mr Melton, then Mrs White threatened to resign and sent a message all the way to the National, then the state officials changed their opinion.

IGNORING THE "REIGN OF TERROR" that has closed in on Negroes and liberal whites in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina is the chief offense of people like Eisenhower, Stevenson, and Kefauver. They pretend not to know that the law in Mississippi protects murderers of Negroes, even when it is on the court lawn, and even when the killer goes to the house and is seen taking the victim away, and the victim is found murdered, the courts still protect them in Mississippi. Now the machinery of the law is going to be used in Montgomery to indict Negroes who elect not to ride the buses. In Georgia and most of the other states named, Negroes will be fired if they join the NAACP. Negro teachers will lose their jobs if they advocate or support integration, which has been declared legal by the Supreme Court. The Presi-

dent and his chief rivals: Stevenson and Kefauver, all want to give federal money to aid the continuation of these segregated schools and this pattern of hatred and ruthless suppression. It isn't just giving some money to schools to help build better schools, but it is giving encouragement and sustenance to the fish-eyed, cold-blooded murderers.

THE GAS BILL VETO made far more people happy than it made sad. Some of us know little of the merits for or against, but most of us did not like the great expenditure of efforts, words, propaganda, etc, to get that bill passed. Incidentally, one of the things that Price Daniel said that he was waiting on, before announcing to run for governor, was the final disposal of the gas bill. Another about dope in Texas, how is he coming on dope, he struck out on the gas? Lyndon Johnson will have to get over there with him on the strike-out on the gas bill, because he was pushing it even more assiduously than Price Daniel. Governor Shivers said that he broke Stevenson primarily in '52 because Stevenson was against the tidelands bill. Well, President Eisenhower has now vetoed the beloved gas bill, how is Shivers standing on Ike now?

Current Events

BY CARTER WESLEY

RICE U.'s THRESHER SPEAKS. — We received a copy of the February 24 Thresher with the lead editorial, entitled: "Segregation License," marked. As we read the column, we thought both editorials might have been marked with equal emphasis, since the other editorial was entitled "The Daily Texan," discussing the issue of the regents' right to suppress the editorial policy of the student paper at Texas University. After scoring the South in the Lucy case, and the murder of the minister at Columbus, (Ga.). The Thresher says: "It is foolish to believe that the system (segregation) is basically good. It must come to an end. The question is not what to do, but rather when to do it, and who should do it." The student editor thinks the South should

do it, and not leave it to court battles.

On the issue of the student paper at UT and freedom of expression, the editor takes issue with those who criticized the Texan's editorial writer, and posed the question on the right of a student paper to freedom of expression thus: "If it doesn't, (meaning if freedom of the press doesn't apply to the student paper) we'd like to know where it does apply?" This editorial ends with the paragraph: "One of the greatest symbols of a free American has been a free press, and any restriction of that press represents denial of a basic American freedom."

WAKING THE GIANT of American public opinion may be what the South's extremists are doing with their murder and their suppression of the rights of the people through the use of their courts and other facilities of government, ordinarily expected to be devoted to law enforcement. Flannelmouths have been yapping like bell clappers, but the law-abiding people have shrunk from entering into the fray of name calling and mud slinging where the flannelmouths operate. We notice that the National Council of Churches has sent a wire to the Negro leadership of Montgomery, telling them they are with them and will give every aid to help. Quietly there is being evinced a desire and a determination on the part of many others to help with what is clearly recognized as an abuse of the rights of the Negro boycotters. The extreme position of the Citizens League at Houston was threatening over the week-end to bring out the first public statement of the Catholics in this diocese on the question of segregation.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE IS POWERFUL as was shown by Mahatma Gandhi, who used it to win freedom for 400 million Indians from the mighty British. Baton Rouge showed what could be done by Negroes in a city, when they boycotted the buses because of mistreatment. They won. It's interesting that passive resistance buds again in Montgomery on the question of bus treatment. When men stop fearing jails, refuse to acknowledge any embarrassment, they always embarrass the bullies and the boys who know nothing except violence and brutality.

NAACP WARNED AGAINST REDS in this good year of our Lord

and Savior. More than 10 years ago this writer was protesting Communists being allowed membership in the NAACP. In those days we saw young Crawford and other admitted Communists in the office of the local NAACP at Houston. We know public meetings at which the local head of the NAACP and the state head of the Communists appeared on the same program, knowingly. Then about 1950 or 1951, I think it was at the Boston national convention, the NAACP voted that Communists could be members but could not hold office. We attacked that position on the ground that anybody who could hold membership has a right to office. We have always held that you can't do business with Communists, and that any policy of trying to work with them was wrong. Now bless me, if the national office of the NAACP isn't actually sending around to the local chapter warning to keep the bars up against the Communists, and not to let them slip in to get to be delegates to the national convention. Well, I guess it's better late than never, but it sure takes some people a long time to learn that you can't do business with Communists.

LYNN LIKES NEGRO "IN HIS PLACE," according to his column in Friday's paper. He quotes with approval Rev W. A. Criswell's statement that those who want to integrate are infidels and dying from the neck up, except that he questions whether they should be called infidels. After saying he likes Rev Criswell and Rev E. C. Estell (colored) he makes the point that if you are trying to raise white-faced Herefords, you keep out the short-horn cows. He follows this by saying the church in the South is where boy-meets-girl. Negroes can show Lynn Landrum 2 million mulattoes that did not result from integration at any church. In the life of Negroes there are fewer stray babies that come from the girls who go to church than from any other group. Maybe Mr Landrum has a different experience in his church, or in the churches that he knows on his side of the color line. Lynn Landrum used to talk sense, but he and the rest of the editorial staff of the Dallas News have let this interracial question get them down mentally.

CONTROLLING THE STAMPEDE, the courts across the Southland have consistently headed off every attempt of pro-segregationists to break out of the legal pen

set up by the Supreme Court of a real top hand can quell an at-tempted stampede and re-bunch the herd. They have been headed off and herded back into the pack. It's a matter of considerable significance that not a single court, state or federal, has given any succor or aid to the attempts to stampede by the segregationists. Incidentally, Archbishop Rummel is giving a good example of how

31a 1956



DOWN ON

beale

NAT D. WILLIAMS

Say, listen, Matt,

It's all old hat.

What's said to you

Ain't new!

—Swilly

Periscoping the Past

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—Speaking of what's happening that's new, the Corner picked up on something in the vicinity of Beale St. the other day that might well be passed on—to other brethren in black, brown, and beige—as well as achromatic.

It had to do with the current situation in race relations which keeps Beale Streeters in such stitches, chills and fever. It's something that was said on the subject. Dig:

"The feeling against the Negro which helps to make our race problem is called prejudice—and it is not without some grounds. For 250 years the white man of the South saw only the animal, or mechanical, side of the Negro. Wherever he looked, there was degradation, ignorance, superstition, darkness, and nothing more, he thought. The man was overshadowed and concealed by the debasing appetites and destructive and avaricious passions of the animal; therefore, the race problem of today is not an anomaly, it is the natural and logical product of an environment of centuries."

So true! Amen, and amen! Those words preceding are culled from a thick, multi-authored book written 50 years ago. A white man and two Negroes collaborated to write the tome, entitled "The Colored American—From Slavery to Honorable Citizenship." It was published in Atlanta, Ga., in 1906. Its authors were Prof. J. W. Gibson, white, Prof. W. H. Crogman and Booker T. Washington, colored

Wonder if you noticed anything familiar in the words those prophets and seers wrote, Mister! Seems like they were writing about the "Washington school investigation" and its currently loosed stream of racial poison.

Just out of curiosity, let's take a gander at one or two other statements from this book by Gibson, Crogman and

NEGRO (NAT D. WILLIAMS)

more is to be done than the education of the blacks, as a solution of the race problem; for much of the stubbornness of the question is involved in the ignorant, lawless and vicious whites of the South, who need education worse than many of the blacks. For there is a class in the South to some extent more degraded and hopeless in their mental and moral condition than the Negro. Educate these as well as the blacks and our problem is shorn of its strength. It is sometimes harder to educate out of prejudice than out of ignorance."

A-a-ack, a-a-ack—ah, hack at it, Mr. Washington et al! That's cooking with gas before the front burner was invented. But the way they split that timber 50 years ago is still hot and good enough to keep Beale Street warm today.

In short, the book calls Beale Street's and the rest of black, brown and beige America's attention to the fact that there's nothing new under the sun about this school integration, first class citizenship, charges of low morals, inferiority, and the like that was raised up there in the Washington investigation and before, that hasn't been felt, thought, said, and sung, decades before the first lawyer's shingle was hung—announcing his talents for sale for good or ill. There is some consolation from periscoping the past!

Washington. It so keenly periscopes the past for your folks. Pick up:

"Slavery, as a system, degraded the Negro to the level of the brute, because it denied him the untrammelled exercise of all the instincts of a higher and better manhood . . . it recognized no moral sensibility in man or woman, regarded no sacred and inviolable relation between husband and wife, sundered at will or caprice the tenderest ties that the human heart is capable of forming or the human mind is able to conceive. . . ."

UGH, UGH, UGH—and yet the paid minions of the past masters' spiritual heirs have the gall to mention the mud "Ole Massa" clawed off his own hide and rubbed in Uncle John's face. But back to the "ranch." Washington and them said:

"It must be remembered that



Down On Beale

BY NAT D. WILLIAMS

Courier P. 13
 I ain't 'gone stand up and laugh
 When they haul your body pass . . .
 Jes' gonna fall right down and pray,
 And here's all I'm gonna say,
 'Sic him, Satan! . . . Suck 'im on in!"

Sat. 3-3-56 Pittsburgh, Pa.
Couldn't Hear Nobody Pray

MEMPHIS — The latest happenings on the Alabama racial front have got Beale Streeters saying, "Oh, oh, they done done it now . . . them white folks done made a mighty mean mistake. "They done gone to messin' with them prayin' Negroes . . . the ones that really pray. They'd better watch out now. 'Cause somethin's gonna happen . . . and real soon. Jus' watch an' see."

Reference was made to last week's mass arrests of Negro leaders in Montgomery's (Ala.) bus bust.

Beale Street's been following the thing with a kind of hypnotized interest. The technique being used by the Montgomery Negroes is something new for this section of America, the beautiful.

And the Beale Street brethren in black, brown and beige have been overly interested to see who was going to "blow" first, the Negroes or the white "jim-crowists."

THE OTHER week it seems that the jim-crowists were the ones who got real salty about the whole thing.

Negroes had boycotted the Montgomery buses long enough to give some important Mr. Charlies the beginnings of the "pocket-colic." And that just about universally makes all white men blow their bald or thatched tops . . . individually and collectively. Beale Streeters have long insisted that the white overlord will break all the commandments and add six broken more as a bargain for the current coin of the realm.

The Beale Street stereotype of the white man in general is that he will see anything for money. That's why they feel the NAACP might do a lots better if it started a campaign to raise funds for the

Negro to buy rather than risk his neck suing for his freedom and "rights to slave, suffer, and die like a white man."

WITH LONG enough loot Sam'n-Nem could negotiate the whole deal in a matter of minutes . . . provided they talk to the boys in the smoke-filled back-room, and not to some Senator who would take the case to television.

But back to this "pocket-colic" in Montgomery's bus moguls' bank accounts. The ailment is a direct result of the Montgomery Negroes' continued refusal to call off their boycott and move on back in the buses. So, the bus bosses called on the town's Mayor and their other office-holders (all white) to do their duty.

They are naive enough to feel that other folk have something of the same respect for the mystic magic of powerful praying as they do.

And now with the arrest of those Alabama preachers, the Street of the Blues is waiting with awe to hear somebody pray.

FOR THE sneaking suspicion persists on the ingido thorofare that Negroes are overlooking one of the most powerful weapons in the entire arsenal of social dynamics . . . the power of conscientious religious fever applied to a plea. They believe that if prayer won't move God . . . it will certainly move man, if he thinks it is being sent to God. A bit of well-spaced dramatic praying

might go a mighty long ways.



Down On Beale

BY NAT D. WILLIAMS

The smudge-pot
 Called "boycott"
 Hurts all a lot!

Courier 31a
Sat. 4-21-56
P. 13

SWILLY
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Boycott Blues

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—Beale Street . . . the home of the blues . . . is beginning to hear growing echoes of a new brand of blues for the vicinity . . . the boycott blues.

The name, "boycott blues," received first billing on the indigo street following the latest developments in the Montgomery bus boycott situation.

One fellow said, "When the white folks do it they call it jim-crow, or some fancy name like segregation; when the black folks do it they call it boycott. Now what's the difference?"

One Beale Streeter aptly observed that the thing works both ways. He said it's a matter of "how much of his own nose a guy wants to cut off to spite his face." He was answered with the reminder that the Bible says, "If your right eye offends you, pluck it out."

But a retort to that last was "Yeah, but you don't reach to pluck out that right eye every time you get a cinder in it. This boycott thing can be carried too far too fast."

That was a nutshell version of the fellow's general warning premise that the Negro's current contemplation of the powers of the economic weapon of boycott . . . in his quest for dignified treatment . . . should be as ob-jective as possible . . . and with all the costs counted in advance.

But no matter how it's approached there are still a lot of Beale Streeters who still remain in profound and prolonged contemplation of the "boycott technique." And like Thomas, the

Disciple, they have some rankling doubts. They know something close-up of the two-way edge this boycott gimmick carries.

It's not that Beale Streeters don't appreciate the effectiveness of the boycott as a sharp-cutting tool in trimming hard-boiled attitudes down to working size. It's just that the realistic brethren on the street where the blues began are asking themselves just how far the boycott business ought to be carried in this racial rattle.

For instance, one guy points out, "Cullud folks will be asked to boycott undertakers who don't bury black folk . . . and boy! that will be the end!"

Continuing in the same vein, the speaker noted, "We're not new to this boycott thing among ourselves. We've been boycotting long time, boycotting bad hair, black women, little automobiles. Some cullud folk, to prove they're 'ready,' boycott watermelon, cat-fish, chitterlings, spirituals, blues, shoutin' in church . . . anything they don't like."



Down On Beale

BY NAT D. WILLIAMS

Some say, "I ain't";
Others say, "Wait."
Some say, "I can't";
Whatchu say, Gate?

—SWIMPH

The Boycott Boogie

MEMPHIS—Brethren in black, brown and beige all over are bustin' their booms about buses nowadays. And the "Boycott Boogie" is taking the cake.

Now there are even reports coming out of Africa . . . in that Union of South Africa yet (Evaton), that the most heavily sun-kissed residents of the place have not only boycotted the buses and gone to riding bicycles in protest against a hike in fares . . . but have also dropped in a little pinch of rioting to make it tasty. They're busy cracking the heads of those in their sundown midst who won't take up their bikes and pedal . . . or who fail to put their brier-beaten soles in the Afric dust so the jim-crow buses can rust. Somebody over there near Ethiopia must be stretching forth his hand and drawing back a Courier to ~~read~~ *bate.* Just the other day on

Anyway, this bus boycott mania has taken on international proportions since that lady of color down in Montgomery, Ala., got sorta miffed about the mess attendant to public transit for "your folks." Now, even in Birmingham, the rock-ribbed

redoubt of race hatred from 'way back, the timid dark-brown voice of the turtle is that as a newly seized technique heard, and there comes a dusky-rethroated growl about buses. Yeah, even in Memphis, where the Ole Man River wipes his muddy brogans on Beale St., God's chil-lun are beginning to sing the "boycott blues." And down in

Tallahassee, Fla., the boycott boogie has literally busted the buses . . . the rock and-roll "your folks" use of the intsrproved to be just a little too ment has put any additional steady . . . the beat was too ideas in the front of Mister syncopated. So, the bus com-Charlie's reddening brow. The pany just up and folded, suf- word "additional" is used here ferer from a heavy hang-over. advisedly, following an over-

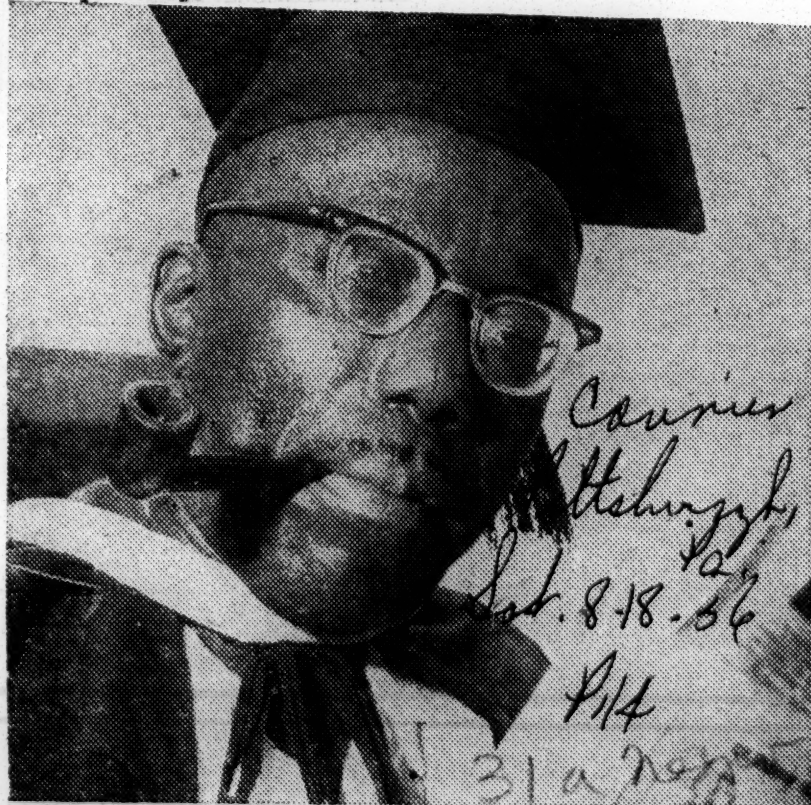
However, Beale St. is just a bit divided over the meaning of it all. The theme question on the "avenue of the blues," when the matter of using the boycott against the buses or other re-positories of public jim-crow is mentioned is, "Are you fer it?"

And that starts the "big de-

out from him and leave him alone."

It took another Beale Streeter to reach back in the barrel and bring up an old Negroism with, "Well, it won't kill Negroes not to ride on buses or anything else . . . they wuzn't born ridin' on nothin' but their mamas' arms . . . they stayed that way till they scrambled to the back of their first mule . . . an' a lot of times he wouldn't let 'em ride back from the cotton-patch . . . so they had to get used to layin' 'em down and pickin' 'em up real early in life . . . cullud folks got a special-built foot fer pattin' the dust."

Of course, he didn't take time to note that modern walking is more a matter of "pattin' the pavement" than the dust . . . and that makes it a bit harder on shoes and corns. Another complicating factor is the Negro's current "Cadillac-conditioning" . . . whole flocks of "your folks" are now used to getting around on note-covered car upholstery.



Master's for Columnist— The Courier's ace columnist, Nathaniel D. (Nat) Williams of Memphis, Tenn., was one of 64 to earn master's degrees this summer at Tennessee State University in Nashville. Mr. Williams, who writes the column "Down on Beale," also is a high school instructor and disc jockey in the Bluff City. The Publishers Association this year awarded him first prize for turning out the most original column.—Clanton Photo.

31a 1956

WHITE (TWENTY NEW ENGLAND EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS- TOUR MISSISSIPPI)

Editors Tour

Mississippi

JACKSON, Miss. (ANP) -

Twenty New England editors and publishers have decided to get a first-hand look at segregation in Mississippi.

The Mississippi State Sovereignty commission's public relations director, Hal DeCell, disclosed last week that the 20 newsmen are planning a visit to the state next month. He said the week-long tour would begin Oct. 7.

The trip is part of the state's program to publicize conditions in Mississippi, De Cell said.